DISCOURSE
OF THE
RISE & POWER
OF
Parliaments
OF
Law's, of Courts of Judica-
ture, of Liberty, Property,
Religion, of the Interest of *England* in
reference to the Designes of *France*; of Peace
and of Trade.

In a Letter from a Gentleman in the
Country to a Member of *Parliament*.

Salus Populi Suprema lex esto.

Printed in the Year 1677.

6. Feb: 1732.3 Collated
Perfect

The following PREFACE newly writ by the Book-seller's Friend.

WHoever buyes this *Tract*, will do a *small Kindness to the Book-seller*; but he that reads it, will do a greater to himself. *The Title alone is a temptation to invite one to look into it, in this time of Disorder*; But, if *Wit and Learning, Reason and Piety, the knowlege of Men and deep consideration of Goverment signifie any thing, the Discourse is a perfect snare to captivate the Reader. And it hath one advantage peculiar to it self to detain him, That he will meet with many things there, which no man ever writ or perhaps thought on before.*

The Novelty alone will gratifie the men of Pleasure and Curiosity; And as for the Grave and the Wise, that Chain of Reason,

and good Nature which runs through it, will make them ſcratch and think twice, before they condemn it.

It was written to a Member of the laſt Parliament about Chriſtmas *laſt was Twelve-month, and ſince that time has crept abroad into the World, and is now made more Publick, as well for the General, as the Book-ſeller's particular good. But a great Chang of Affairs happning in this Interval, 'tis fit to acquaint you, That the Author never dream't of the Horrid Plot, which has bin lately diſcover'd, when he pleaded for Toleration to honeſt and peaceable Diſſenters. He meaſur'd other perſons by his own Candid Temper, and did not think there cou'd be found a Sect of men, who wou'd endevor the advancement of their Religion by ſhedding the Blood of their Prince, in an Age, when Rebellious Principles and their Abettors, have receiv'd ſuch Confutations, as they have in this, both by God and Man.*

But Truth doth not vary with Time, how much ſoever ſome perſons may abuſe it. I cannot perſuade my ſelf, but that Liberty

of

of Conſcience is a Natural Right, which all men bring with them into the World; For we muſt all give an account of our ſelves to God, and ſtand or fall by our own Faith and Practice, and not by the Religion of the State or Countrey where we happen to be dropt.

'Tis impoſſible for men to believe what they liſt, or what others wou'd have them, tho it ſhou'd be beaten into their heads with Beetles. Perſecution makes ſome men obſtinate, and ſome men Hypocrites; but Evidence only governs our Underſtandings, and that has the prerogative to govern our Actions.

The deſign of Chriſtianity is to make men happy in the other World; and in order thereunto, it teaches them to regulate their Paſſions, and behave themſelves with all ſobriety, righteouſneſs and piety in this. The Doctrines whereby this is enforc'd, are ſo few and ſo plainly deliver'd, that they are at this day acknowledg'd by all the ſeveral ſorts of Chriſtians that make a number, or are fit to be conſider'd under a name

in

in the World. For how many are there, who do not profess the Apostles Creed? which was the Old Rule and Measure of Christian Faith, unalterable, unreformable, from which nothing ought to be taken, to which nothing need to be added; as Irenæus *and* Tertullian *declare. And if men wou'd be perswaded to preserve these Ancient Boundaries of Christianity inviolate, and suffer the Primitive Simplicity to be restor'd; the great occasion of Squabble and Contention wou'd be cut off; and they wou'd not dispute for ever, about a lock of wooll, or the knots of a bulrush; but instead of being extremely learned in trifles, and extremely zealous for Moonshine, they wou'd grow kind and charitable and lay aside their unreasonable Censures of one another.*

Aquinas *and* Bellarmine, *and the* Synopsis purioris Theologiæ, *wou'd not be studied so much, but the Sermon on the Mount a great deal more; and upon casting up the Account, it wou'd be found, that what we lost in subtilty thereby, we shou'd gain in Religion.*

St.

St. Hilary, *the Famous Biſhop of* Poictiers, *has an Excellent ſaying to this purpoſe*, Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam quæſtiones vocat, nec multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere ſolicitat; in abſoluto nobis & facili eſt æternitas; Jeſum ſuſcitanum à mortuis per Deum credere, et ipſum eſſe Dominum confiteri. *God doth not call us to Heaven by underſtanding abſtruſe and difficult Queſtions, nor invite us by the power of Eloquence and Rhetorical Diſcourſes; but the way to Eternal Happineſs is plain, eaſy, and unintricate; To believe that God rais'd up Jeſus from the dead, and to confeſs him to be the Lord of all. The ſenſe of this will ſoften the Minds of men, and diſpoſe them to mutual Compliances and Forbearances; and then we ſhall not think it needful, by ſeverities and penalties, to compel others to go to Heaven, in our way, with great uneaſineſs, when we are reſolv'd, they may with ſafety and pleaſure get thither in their own.*

De Trinitate Lib. 10. circa finem.

Upon theſe grounds, the Wiſeſt Emperors

perors in Christendom have allow'd Liberty to Dissenters, as Theodosius *did to the* Novatians, *who had separate Churches at* Constantinople, *and Bishops of their own persuasion to Govern them, and enjoy'd all the Priviledges of Catholic Christians.*

And the Opinion of King James *sent to Cardinal* Perron *in the words of* Isaac Casaubon, *will be remembred to his honor, whilst his name shall be known in the World, as the best resolution which was ever given of this Question.* Rex arbitratur rerum ad salutem necessariarum non magnum esse Numerum, quare existimet ejus Mojestas nullam ad ineundam concordiam breviorem viam fore, quàm si diligenter separentur necessaria à non necessariis, & ut de necessariis conveniat omnis opera insumatur, in non necessariis, libertati Christianæ locus detur. *The King is persuaded, that there is no great number of things necessary to salvation; wherefore his Majesty believes there will not be met with a shorter way to peace, than that distinction be carefully made*

Epist. Isaac. Casaub. epist. 316. pag. 385.

made, between neceſſary things, and thoſe that are not ſo; and that all pains be taken for agreement in neceſſaries, but that allowance be granted for Chriſtian Liberty in thoſe things that are not neceſſary.

This is not a demand which has been only made of late, ſince the Chriſtian name has been ſo ſcandalouſly divided as it is at this day; but 'tis that which the Primitive Chriſtians pleaded for as their right and due, that they ought to be tolerated, though they were miſtaken, ſo long as they were peaceable.

To this end Tertullian *made an Addreſs to* Scapula, *the Governor of* Africa, *and tells him*, humani juris & naturalis eſt poteſtatis unicuique quod putaverit colere, nec alii obeſt aut prodeſt alterius Religio. Sed nec Religionis eſt cogere religionem, quæ ſponte ſuſcipi debeat non vi. Cùm & hoſtiæ ab animo libenti expoſtulentur. Ita etſi nos compuleritis ad ſacrificandum, nihil præſtabitis Diis veſtris; ab invitis enim ſacrificia non deſiderabantur, niſi contentioſi ſint; con-

Tertull. *ad* Scap. *Cap.* 2.

contentiosus autem Deus non est. *It is the right of Mankind and a Natural privilege to worship according to what he believes. One man's Religion doth neither good nor harm to another; 'tis no part of any one's Religion to compel another man to be of the same with him, which ought to be undertaken freely, not by compulsion, even as the Sacrifices are required to be offered with a willing mind; and therefore tho you compel us to sacrifice, you will do no service to your own Gods: for they desire no offerings from the unwilling, unless they be quarrelsome; but God is not contentious.*

Lactantius *has spent a whole Chapter to shew the unreasonableness of persecuting men for Religion, and that violence is an incompetent argument to propagate truth.*

Lactant. lib. 5. c. 20.

St. Chrysostome *makes it a mark of Heresie, and argues thus*, Doth the Sheep persecute the Wolf? no, but the Wolf does the Sheep. So *Cain* persecuted *Abel*, not *Abel Cain*. *Ismael* persecuted *Isaac*, not *Isaac Ismael*. So the Jews persecuted Christ,

Chrysost. Homil. 19. in Matth.

Christ, not Christ the *Jews*; So the Heretics do to the Orthodox, not the Orthodox to the Heretics; therefore by their fruits you shall know them.

The truth is, The persecuting practice was first introduc'd among the Christians by the fiery and turbulent spirits of the Arrian *Heretics, who had corrupted the Emperor* Constantius, *and brought him to their party, and then made use of this power to confute the Catholic Bishops and their Adherents by banishment, imprisonment and confiscation of goods. Against which unworthy proceeding,* Athanasius *inveighs with great reason, and vehemence, as* a preparation for the coming of Antichrist. *But when this poison was once cast into the Church, 'twas but a short time before the sounder and sincerer part of Christians was infected with it; and as their Interest grew at Court, so they made use of it, to baffle their Adversaries, and retort their own Arguments upon them; obtaining Laws to be*

Sulpit. Sever. Lib. 2. C. 54, 55, &c.

Athanas. Epist. ad Solitarios.

 made

made againſt ſeveral Heretics, with very ſevere penalties, the loſs of goods, of liberty, the power of making a Will, and in ſome Caſes, the loſs of life. Which Law's are yet upon Record in both the Codes of Juſtinian *and* Theodoſius. *But tho by this means they prevail'd at laſt to ſuppreſs the Hereſies which troubled the Church, yet the beſt and wiſeſt men amongſt them diſapprov'd the Expedient, and thought it unreaſonable, to purchaſe the eſtabliſhment of truth, by ſuch rigours and by the ſhedding of blood.*

Cod. Juſt. l. 1. tit. 5. de Hæreticis &c. Cod. Theod. 2. 5.

The firſt inſtance which I remember of any Capital Sentence formally pronounc'd againſt any Diſſenters, was againſt Priſcillian *and ſome of his Followers; But then St.* Martin *the Biſhop of* Tours *interceded with all his might to hinder the proceeding; and* Sulpitius Severus *gives an ill Character of the fact, when he ſayes,* Homines luce indigniſſimi, peſſimo exemplo necati, aut exiliis necati. *'Twas of ill example and a ſcandal to Chriſtianity, that they were baniſh'd*

Sulpir. Sever. Lib. 2. C. 65.

niſh'd or put to death, tho they did not deſerve to live. And when a Band of Soldiers was ſent to ſuppreſs a Conventicle of the Donatiſts (*who were very numerous and extremely troubleſome in* Africa) *and bring them to Church*; Parmenian *objected the* Armatum Militem, *and the* Operarios Unitatis, *to the Catholics, as an unſeemly and an unworthy practice. And it coſt* Optatus *a great deal of pains, to write almoſt a whole Book to wipe off the Imputation; which he could not do, but by denying the fact as a Calumny, whereof the Catholics were not guilty, and diſagreeable to the Doctrines of their meek and peaceable Maſter.*

Optat. Cont. Parmen. l. 1. C. 3.

St. Auſtin *has declared his Opinion how the* Manichees *were to be treated in ſuch favourable and gentle words, as ſhew he was not pleaſed with the Law in force againſt them.* Cod. Juſt. l. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis: leg. Manichæos: Illi in vos ſæviant qui neſciunt, quo cum labore verum inveniatur, &c. *Let them be rigorous againſt you,*

Aug. contra Epiſt. C. 1, 2.

you, that do not underſtand what pains is requir'd in the diſcovery of truth; and with what difficulty errors are avoided: Let them be ſevere againſt you, that know not, how rare and hard a thing it is to conquer carnal repreſentations by the ſerenity of a devout mind. Let them rage againſt you, that are ignorant with what labor the eye of the Inward man is cur'd, that it may be able to behold its own Sun; Let them be cruel towards you, that know not what ſighs and groans are neceſſary to the underſtanding of God in any degree: In fine, let them be angry with you that are free from all ſuch miſtakes as they ſee you deceiv'd with. But for my ſelf, I can in no wiſe be ſevere againſt you, for I ought to bear with you as with my ſelf, who was once one of you; and treat you with that patience and meekneſs as was ſhewn to me by my Neighbours, when I was furiouſly and blindly engag'd in your erronious doctrines.

Salvian *a Prieſt, and as ſome think a Biſhop of* Marſelles, *has manifeſted the like candor and meekneſs towards*

De Gubernat. Dei, lib. 5. pag. 142.

wards the Arrians. Hæretici ſunt, ſed non ſcientes: deniq; apud nos ſunt hæretici, apud ſe non ſunt &c. *They are Heretics, but they are ignorantly ſo; they are Heretics in our eſteem, but they do not think themſelves ſo; nay, they ſo firmly believe themſelves Catholics, that they defame us with the title of Hereſy. What they are to us, the ſame we are to them; we are certain they injure the divine Generation, by ſaying the Son is inferior to the Father; they think us injurious to the Father, becauſe we believe them equal; the honor of God is on our ſide, but they believe it on theirs: They are undutiful, but they think this the great office of Religion; They are ungodly, but this they believe is true Godlineſs; they err therefore, but they err with an honeſt good mind; not out of hatred but affection to God, beleeving that they both love and honor the Lord. Altho they want a right Faith, yet they are of opinion, That this is the perfect Love of God; and none but the Judge can tell how they are to be puniſh'd, for the miſtake of their falſe doctrine in the day of Judgment.*

This

This was the ſoft and charitable ſpirit which breath'd in thoſe eminent Defenders of Chriſtianity, who were ſo zealous for their Religion, as to ſuffer for it themſelvs; but not ſo furious as to make others ſuffer to promote it. They had another method of propagating the truth; in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelvs. For indeed the only proper puniſhment of the erronious, is to be taught.

Having diſcours'd thus far concerning Indulgence towards Diſſenters; i. e. *for Charity, Righteouſneſs and Peace; and that every one has a Right, by the great Charter of Nature, to make the beſt proviſion he can for his own happineſs; I foreſee the envy to which this way of reaſoning will be expos'd; as if it open'd a gate to All ſorts of Sects and fooliſh Opiniators, even to Atheiſts themſelvs; and ſtript the Magiſtrate of that power, whereby he is enabled to attain the* End *of Government*, that the people under him, may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.

I know ſo much of human nature, and the

the extravagant follies of Mankind left to the conduct of their own passions, that these wou'd be the certain consequences of unlimited Liberty to all persons; and therefore I plead not for it. My notion of Liberty precludes all the inconveniences in this Objection. 'Tis not a natural Law which is unchangable, but a natural Right only for a man to chuse what Religion he will profess. And there is no Right of Nature, which I know of, but what is limitable to the Public Good, and forfeitable by the abuse of it.

A man may forfeit the Right which he has to life, which he holds by Nature, as well as to his Estate, which he holds by Law. An Atheist, a Murderer, &c. may as justly be kill'd as a Viper, or a Wolf, or any other noxious Animals; because they have don irreparable mischief to the Commonwealth already, and to prevent doing more for the time to come. The natures of such persons are greatly degenerated, and tis but reasonable, that they who have lost the common Virtues, shou'd likewise lose the Privileges of Mankind: And I judge the like concerning

ing

ing the liberty which every man has to inquire into the truth of several Systems of Religion, and publicly to maintain that which appears to him establisht upon the surest foundations.

When tis apparent, that Religion it self is damnified, the safety of the Government endangered, and the peace of the Commonwealth broken by any sort of doctrines, the persons professing those doctrines have forfeited their natural freedom, and ought to be restrain'd.

Accordingly, First, No man is to be allow'd to publish impieties which evidently tend to the dishonor of God and wicked life; as, That God doth not take care of the affairs of this World; *and,* That there are no rewards *and* punishments in the other; That there is an indifferency in human actions, and no good or evil antecedently to the Civil constitution, &c. *For the truth in these cases is so plain by the light of Nature, and by the manifold discoveries which God hath made, that no man who seeks*

for

for it with an honeſt mind, but may diſcern it; and accordingly errors of this nature are not to be aſcrib'd to weakneſs of Judgment, which is to be pitied, but conſider'd as proceeding from malicious Principles, and tending to baſe Ends, and ſo are puniſhable as corruptions in manners. This ſort of men indeed are not within the limits of this queſtion, for they have no Conſcience, and therefore can challenge no privilege from it; and no Goverment can have ſecurity from men of no Conſcience, and therefore cannot be blam'd, if it do not protect them. And, ſeeing they oppoſe the conſent of Mankind in ſuch momentous affairs, why ſhou'd they not forfeit the benefit of human ſociety? and if the Sword were oftner drawn and ſharpn'd againſt them, it might poſſibly reconcile ſome perſons to the Authority, who are now no great Friends to it, nor altogether of St. Paul's *mind,* That the Miniſter of God bears not the Sword in vain, but is a puniſher of evil Doers, and a praiſe to them that do well.

Secondly, No man can claim any Right to freedom, whose doctrines tend to the destruction of Goverment in general, or the dissolution of that which is establish't. For the benefits of Goverment are so great, (tho like those of health, they are not so sensibly discern'd by any thing so much as by their absence) that all Mankind have bin contented to purchase them, by parting with somthing out of every ones stock, to maintain a common Arbitrator of differences, and a common defence from injuries. And the Alterations of any particular Form, or the removal of any particular Person, in whom the Goverment is fix'd, is always attended with so many certain inconveniencies, and, if with any, such uncertain advantages, that ordinary Prudence ought not to trust such persons whose Religion leads them to Anarchy or to Change. Nay, submission to Goverment is so incorporated into all Religions of the World, Natural, Pagan, Jewish and Christian, that 'tis impossible any one can reconcile Religion with the opposition

ſition to the preſent Goverment: Therefore all ſuch doctrines as theſe, That Dominion is founded in Grace; That 'tis lawful to depoſe Heretical Princes, or vindicate the true Religion by the Sword; That an Idolatrous King may be cut off; That the Original of Power is in the People, and upon male Adminiſtration and Tyrannical Goverment, they may reſume their firſt Grant; *are to be diſcountenanc'd in every Common-wealth, and the Abettors of them to be reſtrain'd and puniſh't; unleſs the Rebels of* England *have ſome peculiar privilege; and they that ought to be hang'd in every other Nation under Heaven, have a particular Charter to be indulg'd as the Godly Party here.*

Thirdly, He that will not allow the ſame liberty which he asks, deſtroys the Right to his own demands; he is of a narrow perſecuting ſpirit; in love with his own dear ſelf, proud, conceited, and an enemy to the Reſt of the World.

For,

For, I pray, are we not all equal by Nature, have you more of the Image of God, or a leſs ſhare of Original Sin than I? You tell me, that I am an Idolater; and cannot I ſay, that you are a Heretick? You are certain, if God's Word be true, and the Spirit of God do not deceive, you are in the right; I ſay you are very confident, and Solomon *tells us,* The Fool rageth and is confident. *I took not up my Religion upon truſt, I have read the Bible and the Ancient Writers, the moſt indifferent Arbitrators of differences in Religion; I have conſulted the Wiſeſt men, and heard all Parties ſpeak; I have pray'd to God for his Aſſiſtance, that he wou'd guide me into all truth, and I verily think God has anſwer'd my Prayers; and 'tis You, not I, that are in the miſtake: But becauſe there may be no Contention between us, I am contented to compromiſe the Quarrel, and we will dwell together charitably with united Affections, tho with different Judg-*

ments.

ments. But You cannot in Conſcience accept of this fair offer, you have a Command to the contrary: Come out from among them and I will receive you; Be not unequally yoaked with Unbelievers: have no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, but rather reprove them. *You have a Promiſe to depend on, and you look up to God to perform it.* Behold, I will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, which ſay they are Jews, and are not, for they lye; I will make them to come and worſhip before thy feet, and know that I have loved thee. *Well Sir, I am ſorry my Tender of peace is ſo ſcornfully rejected, upon the miſapplication of ſuch Texts of Scripture, as equally and indifferently ſerve all Parties, or are nothing to the preſent purpoſe; You muſt not be angry, if I ſtrike the firſt blow, rather than ſuffer you to take your own opportunity to knock me o th head.*

When

When the cauſe comes to be tryed, before equal Umpires, you will be judg'd out of your own mouth, that challeng'd Liberty, which you wou'd not grant: For you have tranſgreſt the great Rule of Righteouſneſs, not to do to others, what you wou'd have done unto your ſelf. *Upon theſe terms, the pretences to Liberty are deſtroy'd. But if the Wiſdom of any State ſhall confine their Indulgencies to Pious, Obedient, and Charitable Diſſenters, I cannot perceive the prejudice, which difference in ſpeculations and diſputable Points can do in Religion, or the Power of the Magiſtrate.*

But at the ſame time I cannot but admire the admirable Temper and Moderation which is ſhew'n in the Church and Goverment of England; *That requires nothing neceſſary to Salvation, but the acknowlegement of the Ancient Creeds; That teaches nothing, but what is Pious and Charitable; Whoſe Lyturgy is Grave, Wiſe and Holy; whoſe Rites*

are

are few and material; Whose Laws are full of Candor and Compliance, allowing freedom to any Five Dissenters together to worship God, in their own way: Whose true Sons and Subjects, are the greatest Favorers of Christian Liberty, which are in the World; And I pray God, to give all people that disown it, Wisdom to understand it.

Derby 7 Oct. 1. S.

Tho. Sutton

THE
Publiſher to the Reader.

HAving, I muſt own, not without Pleaſure, read the following Papers; and believing they might in ſeveral Inſtances (I do not ſay all) give ſom ſatisfaction to others, and contribute to the Public Good, for which, I perſwade my ſelf, even thoſe Notions that ſeem moſt od and impracticable, were intended; I reſolved to make them public; But was check't again, by calling to mind, That he from whom I in ſome ſort extorted them, oblig'd me not to diſcover him: Nevertheleſs, conſidering I might do the One without the Other, I purſued my former Reſolutions; yet taking this further care, That even the Printer ſhould not know from whence they came. And now let me tell you, whatever you ſhall think of this Diſcourſe, 'Tis the Iſſu of a ſober Brain, tho

tho perhaps a little too much inclin'd to Humor, and rigid Vertu; and not ſo agreeable or ſmooth, as you would have had it, if my Friend had dreſſed it for the eyes of any other beſides my ſelf, to whom he ſent it Sheet by Sheet; and having writ it in leſs than eight of the laſt Holy-dayes, you may believe, had I allowed more time, it would have come, even to me, reviewed. As it is, I make it yours; and aſſure you, what ever Cenſure you paſs upon Him or Me, we ſhall both be unconcern'd: As Compleſance made it mine, ſo a good Intention, of ſerving my Country, makes it yours. For my ſelf, I do not aim at being Richer or Greater; The Patrimony left me, ſatisfyed and invited my unambitious Mind, to the Retirements of a privat Life; which I have made eaſie by innocent Recreations, Company, and Books: It was not my own ſeeking, that I am now plac'd in a more public Station; wherein, tho perhaps I have done no Good, yet, I am pleas'd, I never did any Hurt; having alwayes purſu'd, without Paſſion or Intereſt, what ever my Conſcience (the beſt Rule and ſevereſt Judge of Men's Actions) convinced me was beſt.

As

As to my Friend, he is one has read ſome Books, and more Men; thanks God he is, that, which the World calls a Fool, a Good-natur'd Man, one that heartily loves all Mankind; and has ſo particular a Zeal for the good of his Country, that I believe he would ſacrifice his Life to ſerve it. But almoſt deſpairing, That ever Things will be better than they are; and finding, by what he has ſeen abroad, That a Man may live more happily in England, *than in any part of* Europe; *and now grown old, by Temper, more than Years, he has reſolv'd, chiefly to mind himſelf; whom, to enjoy more fully, he has bid adieu to all Thoughts of Buſineſs; to which, having never been bred by any Calling, he has had the more Opportunities of conſidering all, of improving himſelf, and obſerving moſt ſorts of Men; and, as a ſpeculative Philoſopher, to the Entertainment of Himſelf and Friends, he paſſes very free Remarks on all Actions and Things he judges amiſs; and, being byaſs'd by no manner of Intereſt, I am perſwaded he ſpeaks his Conſcience: And he has the good Fortune, to make others often conclude, He do's not only ſpeak a great deal of Truth;*

Truth; but alſo further ſatisfies them, That it is much eaſier to find Faults, than mend them; That there ever were, and ever will be, Diſorders in all Human Societies; That there are fewer in that of England, *than in any other, and that they are there more curable.*

Thus much I thought fit to tell you, to prevent any Miſapprehenſions concerning the Perſons who are the occaſion of this Trouble, or Diverſion, call it what you pleaſe.

The

The Contents.

Page

1. *State Affairs not fit to be discourſed by privat men.* 7
2. *Of the Riſe of Parliaments.* 11
3. *Origin of Goverment, with a brief account of Laws, Revenues, Trade, and Natural Religion.* 12
4. *A new Method of Electing Members, Objections againſt this Preſent Parliament, and their Anſwers.* 29
5. *Of Lawes,&c.* 37
6. *Of better reſtraint of Offences than Puniſhment by death.* 48
7. *Of Courts of Judicature.* 60
8. *Of Liberty, Property, and Religion.* 73
9. *Differences in the laſt nor hurtful nor reſtrainable.* 81
10. *How Toleration may be ſafely granted.* 92
11. *How to prevent Diviſions among Chriſtians, and to make all really not nominaly ſuch.* 99
12. *To Regulate and Reform the abuſes of the Preſs, the inconveniencies of* Printing *as now managed.* 104

13. *The Intreſt of* England *in Reference to* France. 116

14. *Reaſons why the King did not declare War againſt that Crown.* 119

15. *The King's Care of* Ireland *to prevent* French *Deſigns.* 140

16. *Of an Union between* England *and* Ireland, *or the Repealing* Poynings *Act.* 143

17. *Of Taxes to make them great and perpetual, moſt for the Peoples eaſe and common good.* 148

18. *That* 100 *l. formerly was in Real value equivalent to* 300 *l. now, and in uſe to* 3000 *l. With the reaſons of the diſparity.* 161

19. *The dangers of not perpetuating apportioning and applying the Revenue to the particular charge and uſes of the Crown or State, and the advantage of doing ſo.* 166

20. *The Objections againſt perpetuating the Revenue, conſidered and removed.* 167

21. *That* French *or any other Commodities are better Reſtrained by height of Duty, than abſolute prohibition.* 173

22. *Seve-*

22. *Several Taxes conſidered, Exciſe, Hearth-Mony &c.* 174
23. *A Tax upon New Buildings, a Polemony, and how to ſecure it againſt frauds.* 178
24. *A Tax upon unmarried people.* 180
25. *Of Trade, of the value of Labour, how the People and Riches may be encreaſed, &c.* 184
26. *That Forreigners are to be Invited, and how.* 190

Many other things for Advance of Trade, as Regiſtries or their equivalent on Practiſers of Fraud; how Work-houſes may be Erected, all Poor and Beggars provided for, and a Nurſery for an Army either for Land or Sea-Service to be ſuddenly raiſed on any emergency, without grievance or preſſing of the People &c.

Errata.

Errata.

IN the Title page for (Member in) read Member of. P.2. to the Reader, read unfaſhionable rigid virtue. p.18. l.14. r. extravagance. p.21. l. 15. r. deſtructive. p.28. l.3. for (and policy) r. or Policy. ibid. l. 13. r. as head. p.63. l.3. r. actual ſummons. p.69. l. 4. r. ariſing. p. 82. l. 5. r. End. ibid. l. 10. for (clearer) r. cleaner. p.91. l.19. r. a Red Sea. p.105. l.9. r. Sacrament. p.112. l.22. r. have ſlay'd. p.113. l.25. dele, til, they; p. 118. l.20. r. fineſſo. p. 122. l. 10. for (unequal) r. uneaſy. p.143. l.15. r. Poynings. p.145. l. 7. r. claim a greater. p.149. laſt l. for (make) r. may. p.159. l. laſt, r. Haver. p.176. l.22. r. Brewers only. p. 178. l. 13. r. but alſo. p.188. l.23. r. twice ſtronger. p.191. l.2. r. many many. p.200. l.5. r. ſhal not be. p.207. l. 2. r. repreſentative. p.239. l.4. r. Bettor.

The Introduction.

SIR,

HAd you only commanded me to have given you an account of the Laws and Cuſtoms of another *Utopia*, an *Iſle of Pines*, or of *O. Brazil*, (tho unfit even for ſuch a Task) I wou'd not have diſputed it: But finding you have impos'd upon me, who am neither States-man nor Merchant, a neceſſity of playing the Fool, by treating of *England's Policies and Trade*; I confeſs I cou'd not without great reluctance comply with ſo ſevere an injunction.

I have always been averſe to diſcourſes of this kind; which in Privat men are no farther tolerable, than as idle Philoſophers, to paſs away their vacant hours

in ſuch otherwiſe uſeleſs ſpeculations; And in them too, I have heard 'um oftner condemn'd than commended, the Authors eſteemed fooliſh, and impertinent, troubleſom or dangerous; And ſom we know by indulging themſelves too much in this vanity, have ſtraitned, if not wholly loſt their Liberty and Fortunes. We live not in *Plato's Commonwealth, but in fæce Romuli*, where a ful Reformation of Laws and Manners, ſeems only to be wiſh'd, not to be obtain'd without a Miracle. Why then ſhou'd any, eſpecially the unconcern'd, buſy their heads with what they cannot mend? 'Tis much more pleaſant and ſafer far, to let the World take its courſe, to believe that in the regular, ſtated, motion of Nature, things are ſo order'd by Divine Providence, that they wil not, cannot, ſuffer themſelves to be il manag'd. Nature, if we hearkn'd to her Dictates, as well as Religion (which we equally deſpiſe) would convince us, it were our Duty (I am certain it wou'd be our Intereſt, our Happineſs even in this

this life) to ſubmit quietly to the Powers above, and their Ordinances, becauſe *All Powers are of God.*

Thus I acknowledge every privat man ought to think and do; But public perſons, that is to ſay, Law-makers are to conſider they were born not only for themſelves, but for the good of others, and therefore are oblig'd to exert that power with which they are intruſted, for the joint common good of the People, without partial regards or privat ends.

If they wou'd ſincerely mind this; and if our hot-braind State-Mountebanks, who being but privat men, yet quarrel at every thing that is not conformable to the Capricio's of their own wild fancies, wou'd ceaſe to intermedddle in their Superiors Province, *England* might be the happpieſt Kingdom of the World; whereas the contrary Practiſe rendred her not long ſince the Seat of Civil Wars, Tyranny and Confuſion, and has at preſent ſo filled Her with Murmurings, and Repinings, Jealouſies, and Fears, that She

which

which formerly gave Law to others, and was a Terror to more than *Europe*, is now in danger, to become weak and contemptible in the Eys and Opinions of her Neighbors.

These, and such like, were the Considerations, that made me so long resist your command; to which I had never yielded, but to prevent the loss of your Friendship, with which you so solemly threatn'd me in your last. Take then in the same order you prescribe, the best account I am able in so short a time to give to your several following Particulars *Of the Rise and Power of Parliaments, Of Laws; Of Courts of Judicature; Of Liberty, Property and Religion; Of the Interest of* England *in reference to the Designes of* France; *Of Taxes and of Trade.* But you are to observe, That what I write is with as much liberty, and little care, as people discourse in Coffee houses, where we hear the State-affairs of all Nations adjusted, and from thence gues at the Humor of the People and at the Times.

In this therefore, you are not to expect,

any

any ſtudied Phraſes, or Elaborat connexions, cloſe neat Tranſitions, &c. Your ſervant (whom I conjure you by the ſtricteſt ties of Friendſhip, not to diſcover) has neither will, nor leiſure for ſuch a work, which being intended only for your Cloſet, you may be content to take in a plain Engliſh dreſs.

Of the Riſe and Power of Parliaments.

The great and many Revolutions and Changes, which in all Places have attended Human Affairs; and the particular Inundations of the *Romans, Saxons, Danes*, and *Normans*, into this Kingdom; together, with the ignorance and careleſneſs of former Ages, have left us, in ſo much darkneſs and uncertainty, that I think it not only difficult, but morally impoſſible, to trace out exactly the Beginnings of things. If it be ſo then in all affairs, we may ceaſe to wonder, why men are ſo much at a loſs, in their Enquiries into, and Debates of the preſent matter, *viz. Of the Riſe and Power of Parliaments*; which has received very different formes and ſhapes, accor-

according to the Intereſt and Power of the ſeveral contending Parties; this makes me think, its tru face can never be fully diſcover'd, tho perhaps it may be uncertainly gueſs'd at, by ſom Lines, faint Shadows, and ſtronger Probalities gather'd from the ſcatter'd *Memoires of Monks*, who cannot well be ſuppos'd impartial, eſpecially in Eccleſiaſtical, nor full in the relations of State-affairs; in the Accounts of which they did not hold themſelves concern'd: But yet they are the beſt guides we have; For from the Ancient Rolls in the Tower, one cannot believe, there was any exact Diary of things; or if he do, muſt conclude, many are ſpoyl'd by the injury of Time, omitted thro negligence, or made away for privat Ends. However we may yet pick out of both this Truth, That tho *the Riſe of Parliaments*, like the Head of *Nilus*, be unknown, yet they have bin of long ſtanding and of great Power.

And we ſhall find it reaſonable they ſhou'd be ſo, if we look back into the grounds

grounds and *Origin of Goverment*; which we may ſuppoſe to have bin introduc'd by the general conſent and agreement of as many Families, as upon the encreaſe of Mankind, joyned in one common Society, divided the Earth into particular proportions, and diſtinguiſhed between *Meum* and *Tuum*; To this they were induced by Love, not Fear, which is but the conſequent of that, Reaſon convincing that the enjoyments of life were thus beſt ſerv'd and promoted. And becauſe that *Being* and *Well-Being*, cou'd not be continued or enjoyed, but by the Society of Women, and the Products of Labor; and that, if ſome wou'd be idle, and many covet the ſame Woman, the great Deſine of Nature, Happineſs, founded on Living well, and in Peace, might be perverted into the ſtate of Miſery, War; To prevent the two neceſſary Conſequences, Poverty and Death, they entred into mutual Compacts, Articles, or Laws, agreeable to that great and fundamental Law of Nature, rivited into their Beings,

Origin of Government.

To

To do as they wou'd be done unto; That is, They reſolv'd, agreed, and promis'd one another, to be guided by the Rules of Reaſon; or, which is one and the ſame, To continu Men. But, becauſe it was probable, ſom yielding too much to their Paſſions, might ſwerve from this great Rule, and ſo, wrong Others as well as Themſelves; Therefore, that no man might be Judge and Party, they unanimouſly confirmed to the *Elder* perſon, the continuance of that Right, which Nature had given him over the Fruit of his Loynes during its Minority, To determin what ever Differences ſhou'd happen; Believing Him, as the common Father of the Family, to be moſt impartial, and as the longer Experienced, the Wiſeſt Man.

This Power, tho Great, exceeded not the Limits of their then-enacted Laws, in their tru and natural Meaning, which they took care to make very few and plain, That all Diſputes and Intricacies (not only the Diſturbers, but Deſtroyers, of Juſtice) might be avoided.

And

And finding they were not only lyable to Danger at Home, but from Abroad; from ſuch other Societies, as had already, or might afterwards ſet up for themſelves; and that it was not poſſible for all, to watch againſt theſe Dangers, they therefore reſolv'd to put that Care into the Hands of one Man; (for which great Undertaking, the Coward, as the Fool, if thoſe two really differ, were equally unfit, Inconſideration in the One, being what Fear is in the Other, (a *Betraying of the ſuccors which Reaſon offers)* Nature then, by giving their Judge moſt Authority, Wiſdom, and Conduct, which with tru Courage (the Effect alſo in a great meaſure, of Experience) are the great Qualifications of a General, deſin'd him for that Honor; which the People readily confirm'd, promiſing Obedience, and inveſting him with the Power of making War and Peace: But (at his Inſtance) reſerving to themſelves, the Liberty of Examining and approving the Reaſons: Which the Great and Wiſe Captain judg'd convenient; knowing, that

that without the Consent of All, he cou'd not but want the Assistance of Som, which might dis-able him to defend himself or them; whereupon, the Ruin of the Whole must inevitably follow.

And, because the Prince his whole time must be employed in this great Work; part of which, was the preparing his Son for the Succession, by instilling into him the necessary Seeds, the Principles of Vertu, Religion, Wisdom, Courage, Munificence, and Justice: The People willingly agree'd to entail upon Him, and his Successors, a certain *Excisum*, or Proportion of every Man's Labor, answerable to the Occasions of the Public; and to the particular State and Grandeur, necessary for the Support and Maintenance of his Authority and Reputation.

But because a greater proportion was needful for extraordinary accidents, as of War, &c. They set apart annually another *Quota*, to remain for such Uses in a kind of public Bank, so to be order'd, as might greatly increase their common Treasure,

Treaſure, and do good to the poorer ſort of Laborers and Tradeſ-men, and maintain in Hoſpitals, ſuch Impotents or aged Perſons, as ſhoud be diſabled, to make Proviſions for themſelves.

The Revenu they made Great enoff, as wel as Certain, that the Prince might not ly under any neceſſity of contriving from time to time, new Artifices and Wayes of raiſing Money, that great Rock of Offence, on which they foreſaw no Prince could ſtumble without Vexation, Animoſities, and Hatred; not only diſcompoſing the Happineſs, but occaſioning the Overthrow of any State. And ſo the People, being ſure of the Remainder, they proportion'd their Expence to their Gettings; The former they moderated, not only by prudent Sumptuary Laws, but by the hazard of their Reputations, eſteeming it infamous, not to lay up yearly ſomthing of their Labors; by which Courſe, the Public *Taxes* became *eaſie*. Which they made *perpetual*, that their Children ſhoud be under a neceſſity of following their Examples of Thrift, and

ſo might likewiſe be inſenſible of the Burden; Fore-ſeeing that *Taxes* impos'd upon People, who are ſo far from ſaving ought, that they account themſelves good Husbands, if they do but yearly make both Ends meet, beget il Blood, murmuring and diſcontent; crying, that the Bread is taken out of their Mouths, or the Cloths from their Backs, which are often followed by the evil Conſequences of Rebellions, and the Subverſion of the Common-wealth. For ſuch never conſider, That their own Extravance made thoſe imaginary Needs; which, when they happen, are no otherwiſe to be removed, but by moderating former Expences.

Thus, they wiſely contriv'd, and interwove the perpetuating the Subjects Safety, and the Princes Dominion; never ſecure, but when founded on mutual Love and Confidence: I do not find the practice of this Policy any where ſo wel continued, as in the States of *Venice* and *Holland*; which has preſerved the firſt about

bout 12 Centuries, and made the later increaſe ſo prodigiouſly in leſs than one.

Now, becauſe they foreſaw, the products of their Labor wou'd exceed their Expences, and that the remainder wou'd be uſeful, for commutations with their Neighbor for ſom of their Commodities, but that in driving this *Trade* they wou'd be expoſed on Sea to Pyracies, &c. To make their Navigation ſafe, they agreed, that the public for ſecuring them, ſhoud receive by way of *præmium* or *inſurance*, a certain *Exciſum* out of all things Exported or imported, which we now cal *Cuſtomes*.

And, leſt the too great deſire of Wealth, ſhou'd make them forgetful of their Duty to God, their Parents, and their Country, that is to one another, They ordain'd, that a ſufficient number of the Elders of the People, grave, ſober, diſcreet perſons, ſhou'd at certain times, ſet apart for that purpoſe, remind them of their Duty, in every of thoſe particulars, and alſo inſtruct their Children in the Laws of God, and of their Country.

And, becauſe the tending of this work wou'd take up a conſiderable portion of their time, they allowed Salaries to theſe public Officers, out of the common ſtock. In thoſe days of Innocence, when Art was not interwoven with Religion, nor Knavery with Policy, it was an eaſy matter to be pious and juſt: And if the higher Powers were pleas'd to remove theſe two, we ſhou'd ſoon again ſee that golden Age; The Duty of both Tables was compriſed in few Articles, That to their Neighbors, conſiſted as now, *in doing as you would be don unto*; That towards God, (of whoſe Being they were convinced by the ſtrongeſt of Demonſtations, the conſideration of the viſible things of the World,) in Thankſgivings, and Adorations, the effect of Gratitude to the Autlior of their being, and of all good things, in believing the Immortality of the Soul, and of its being ſuſceptible of Rewards, and Puniſhments in another Life, and in the conſequence, That Sin is to be repented of. Theſe were their common ſentiments, the Dictates of Nature; The ſubſtance of which was acknow-

acknowledg'd by al, even the moſt barbarous of Nations; And therefore cou'd not be the inventions of Policy, the Dreams of melancholy men, or the Effects of Education: Theſe are the Opinions of the unthinking, and therefore wild and looſe, and were the wiſhes formerly of the few debauch'd; But the great, ſober and wiſe Philoſophers of all Ages, upon the exacteſt Scrutiny, finding them to be the Impreſſes of Nature, as eſſential to our Being as light to the Sun, pronounced the *ſpeculative Atheiſt* an impoſſible thing. And becauſe they were ſencible that a *Lyer* as deſtruſtive of the very being of human Society, ought to be baniſhed the Commonwealth, the firſt of their Laws, and the Cement of the reſt was, That *every man ſhou'd* not only *ſpeak Truth to his Neighbor*, but *ſtand* firm *to his Promiſes*. And knowing that Laws, tho never ſo good, wou'd prove inſignificant, if not duly obſerved; And that ſom men wou'd never be wiſe, that is, wou'd never conſider, and conſequently wou'd not eaſily be reſtraind from folly, from offending; to deter the ſlaviſh and in-

conſiderat, they did, not only annex certain Penalties to the breach of the Laws, but unalterably decreed, That no *Offender* tho never ſo powerful, *ſhou'd eſcape* the *puniſhment*.

Theſe Penalties were *Pecuniary Mulcts*, *loſs of Liberty*, *bodily Labor to the Public*, or *Baniſhment*; The power of *Life* and *Death*, they wou'd not give; becauſe they cou'd not transfer that to another which was wanting in them ſelves; the taking away of *Life* was peculiarly reſerv'd by Nature, as its own indiſpenſible right, as moſt reaſonable, becauſe ſhe alone coud give it: They conſider'd, That Terrors are but affrightments to Duty, That Corrections are for Amendment not Deſtruction, which courſe ſhou'd they have purſu'd, they might accidentally have run themſelves, into a ſtate of War: Since Nature had told them, it was not only lawful, but neceſſary, if they coud not otherwiſe preſerve their own, to take away the beings of any that attempted theirs; That it wou'd be againſt *the End of Society*, *mutual Happi-*

Happineſs; This rendering the ſufferer uncapable of all, to which therefore he neither cou'd nor wou'd have conſented. This or ſomthing not unlike it was I perſwade my ſelf, the form & ſubſtance of the firſt Commonwealths, which if you narrowly look into, you may perhaps find ſom Lines, that drawn out fully, might be no il Model, for any Common-wealth.

And to come nearer home; It has ſome reſemblance to what, for ſeveral paſt Ages, this Kingdom did, and does now enjoy. To omit the *Brittiſh* times, of which we have but very thin gleanings of the *Druids* their Oracles of Learning, Law and Religion; And to skip over that of the *Romans*, who were never able perfectly to introduce their manner of Commonwealth; We ſhal find that in the time of the *Saxons* (a people of *Weſtfrizland*, ſo called from the ſhape of their Sword, a kind of Cymeter,) and in that of the *Danes*, the manner *of Goverment* was, as now in ſubſtance, tho not in form or name, by *King* and *Parliament*: But whether the *Commons* were called to this

great Assemby or no, I cannot find, from the imperfect Registers of Elder times; One may guess, they were originally Members of it, because the same people in *Westfrizland*, from whence they descended, do at this day continu, a Form of Government, different from all the rest of the Provinces, not unlike this. There are sufficient proofs, that the *Peers*, that is, the chief of the Clergy, and best estated Gentry, were as often as the King pleas'd (for it was originally *Edicto Principis)* Summon'd to consult with him of the great affairs of State: Which Council was before the Conquerors time, call'd by several Names; as *Concilium* absolutely, sometimes the Epithets of *Magnum*, *Generale* or *Commune* were added: It was often known by the name of *Curca Magna* and others, and was compos'd *ex Episcopis*, *Abbatibus*, *Ducibus*, *Satrapis & Sapientibus Regni*; among which, if any wil say the *Commons* had place, I will not dispute, because in those times when Titles of Honor were not the Arguments of good Fortune or the mark's of the Prince's favor, the

King

King cal'd to this great Council, such as large Possessions, Courage, or Wisdom recommended as fit: For we find that the Fathers having sat there, gave no Right to such Sons, as did not with their Estates, inherit their Vertues.

It appears farther, that the *great Council* in the later end of the *Saxons* Reign, and til the beginning of King *Johns*, had, by the grace of Kings, accustomed themselves, without any summons to meet thrice every year, at *Christmas*, *Easter* and *whitsontide*; which course was not interrupted by any particular Summons, but when in other seasons of the year, the public occasions required their meeting. The long continuance of the *Barons Wars*, made the before stated meetings, of the great Council, return to the uncertain pleasure of the Prince.

What ever the power of the *Commons* was before the *Conquest*, it plainly appears, that for somtim afterward, their Advice was seldom desired, and as things were then ordered, their Consent was not thought necessary, being always included

cluded, in that of the *Lords*: For the Conqueror having ſubjected the Natives to an intire vaſſalage, ſeiz'd upon all their Poſſeſſions, reſerved to the Crown larg proportions, in every County, gave part to the Church in *Francalmoine*, and the reſidu to his fellow adventurers in the War, to be held by *Knight ſervice*. Theſe ſubdivided part of theirs to their Followers, on ſuch conditions as render'd them perfect Slaves to their Maſters, rather than their Lords: By the poſſeſſion of ſo much Power, theſe *Barons* or *Freeholders* (for the word ſignifi'd no more) did what they pleas'd with their vaſſals, became very terrible to the Conqueror and his Succeſſors: To curb whoſe Extravagance, tho all were willing, King *John* was the firſt that made the attempt; but by his over haſtineſs, he gave birth to the laſting broyles of the *Barons Wars*. He with deſine to ſuppreſs the too great power of the *Lords* in the ſixth year of his Reign, about a War with *France*, call'd for the *Commons* Advice and Council with the *Lords*; which had bin don above one hundred

dred years before by *Henry* the firſt, who in his Reign ſummon'd them twice, at his Coronation, and in his eighteenth year. The next time after King *John* that we find them ſummoned, was in the forty ninth year of *Henry* the thirds Reign; whoſe Summons appears upon Record: So that he may be ſaid to have perfected, what *Henry* the firſt, and King *John* deſin'd, making the *Commons* a part of that *great Judicature*, which they have ever ſince continu'd, and for ſome time after, in one and the ſame *Houſe*.

It was uſual in thoſe days to mention in the Writ, the *Cauſe of aſſembling this Council*; In a Summons of *Edward* the firſt a wiſe, juſt, and therefore a fortunate Prince, concerning a War with *France*, in the ſeventh year of his Reign, theſe words are obſervable, *Lex juſtiſſima providâ circumſpectione ſtabilita, ut quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur*, much better ſenſe than 'Latin.

Succeding Kings have bin pleaſed to conſult in *Parliament*, of all the high and great Concerns of the State, of what na-

ture

ture or kind ſoever. The conſulting thus with the whole Body of the People, was firſt the grace & Pollicy of Kings, & the practiſe was always ſucceſful to thoſe that us'd it, as the contrary prov'd deſtructive: for the Kings having by this courſe gaind their Subjects Hearts, found it eaſy, to command their Purſes, and their Hands.

This *great repreſentative* of the Commonwealth, the *Parliament*, conſiſting of *three Eſtates, viz.* the *Lords, Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons* with the King at Head, you wil with me eaſily conclude, may do any thing, within the reach of Human Power.

You muſt pardon me, if I wave Anatomizing the diſtinct Powers of the ſeveral parts of this great Body; whoſoever firſt attempted that, deſin'd the overthrow, of the beſt conſtituted Goverment in the World, where the King wants no Enſines of Monarchy or Majeſty; where the People have not only al the Freedom, Liberty and Power, that in reaſon can be wiſhed, but more than any of their Neighbors enjoy, even than thoſe

thoſe, in the ſo much more cry'd up, but little underſtood Commonwealth of *Holland*, where they have liberty in name, but in reality are very Slaves, and beaſts of Burden.

Now, whether the way of convening Parliaments, might not be alter'd into the this following (or, ſom other more equal than the preſent ſeems to be) I leave to themſelves to determin, *viz.* That every *Pariſh*, Freeholders and others, if they pleaſe, ſhoud meet and chooſe Two honeſt knowing men, on whom their power of Electing Members ſhoud be devolved; This don in every Pariſh, the ſeveral *Two's* to meet and chooſe Two for the *Hundred*; That agreed, the reſpective *Two's* of every *Hundred*, at the time and place appointed to chooſe the *Members*, out of ſuch, as are reſident in the Country, both *Knights* and *Burgeſſes*: Nor does it ſeem very reaſonable, that the later ſhoud exceed the former, eſpecially conſidering that many of the antient *Burrow's* are decay'd, and yet the number rays'd by the additions of new ones, beyond

yond what it was before: But by this manner of Election that inconvenience, if any, will not be conſiderable. To every two Members a *ſides-man* to be choſen, who ſhoud duly attend, at the place of Seſſions; and that he might be prepar'd in the abſence of both, or either of the Members, they ſhoud make him maſter of al that paſs'd from time to time in the Houſe. And that every perſon Elected, might ſerve the public without privat conſideration, the Electors, or a Juſtice of Peace in their preſence, to adminiſter an Oath fram'd to this Effect, *That* in al proceedings, *they endeavor to inform themſelves, fully of the ſtate of the matter, and therein Act according to Conſcience, without particular intereſt or deſine; That directly, or indirectly, on the account of their Vote or ſerving, they ſhal not receive by themſelves, or others, any Reward, or Gratuity whatſoever. On breach of this Oath to* be lyable to al the Penalties of Perjury. It is not to be doubted, but the honor of promoting their Countries good (That giving a ſort of Immortality which

al

al men covet) wil invite Gentlemen enow ſufficiently qualified, to undertake this work on theſe conditions, how hard ſoever they appear. 'Tis not reaſonable, that *Parliament Men* ſhoud be maintained, or rewarded (unleſs in Praiſe and Statues) at the Countries charge: To do it *gratis* is al the real good they do the Commonwealth, in which as privat men, their Intereſt, and conſequently their Gain is greater, than that, of the meaner ſort. The Elections to be by the Ballotting box, to avoid heat, and ſecret grudges.

Nor woud it be uſeleſs to ad, That al things be carried, fairly and openly in the Houſe; That the Debate of any thing propoſed, be adjourned to the next days Meeting; *For in the time of Reſt upon our Bed, Our nights ſleep does change our Knowledge*, and qualify the Effect or cauſe of Paſſion, Inconſideration: That every Member by himſelf, or Sides-Man, be conſtantly preſent, under ſevere penalties to the Public: That nothing be put to the vote, but in a ful Houſe, not of

For-

Forty (who cannot be the Major part of above Four Hundred, and therefore at firſt was ſure a trick) but of al the Members; nor then carried by Majority, til the reaſons of every ſingle Diſſenter be examined, the diſſenting perſon convinc'd, and in caſe of obſtinacy after Conviction (of which in ſo wiſe an Aſſembly, none can be ſuppos'd guilty) expell'd the Houſe; The queſtion not to be reaſſum'd, til after the Election of a new Member, unleſs his Sides-Man be of a contrary opinion in the Debate. 'Tis poſſible the ſwaying argument, was at firſt, but one Mans, whoſe credit and authority might prevail upon the reſt, without examining his Reaſons, which makes it prudent, to weigh the force of what is offered againſt it: By the contrary courſe, they may, by this they cannot ſuffer; ſince Reaſon or Truth is always one and the ſame, and however diſguis'd, by the ſophiſtry of Wit, it muſt at laſt overcom. Thus by *proving al things*, and *holding faſt that which is beſt*, they wil acquit themſelves to the

the preſent and ſucceeding Ages. Such manner of proceeding woud ſilence al murmurings and clamors, "*That the Parli-*
"*ament is divided into Factions*; a *Court*
"and a *Country Party*; Tho *the intereſt of*
"*the one, be not directly oppoſit, to that*
"*of the other, Yet the members, for ends*
"*of their own, Honor or Rewards, do make*
"*them ſo*; of this they are convinc'd, by
"ſeeing *ſom turn Cat in Pan, appearing*
"*ſtrongly, in one Seſſion, for that which*
"*in a former, they as vigorouſly oppos'd.*
"And by obſerving *others to compaſs E-*
"*lections by Faction and Intereſt, by Pur-*
"*chaſe or covinous Freeholds*: That, con-
"trary to ſeveral Acts of Parliament,
"*Members living in the South are choſen*
"*for the North*; and therfore are, to the
"injury of the People, as much ſtran-
"gers to the affairs of the Places, for
"which they ſerve, as thoſe two points,
"are diſtant from each other: *That they*
"*paſs Laws*, witneſs that againſt *Iriſh*
"*Cattel*, &c. *not for the common good, but*
"*to ſhew their intereſt and power, to miſ-*
"*chief a man they hate, or to revenge ſom*

" *receiv'd, or ſuppoſed Injuries or Af-*
" *fronts :* That therefore, it is neceſ-
" ſary to diſſolve *This, as not being*
" *a free Parliament, and to cal a new one;*
" That *to do ſo frequently, is moſt agreeable*
" *to Reaſon, and to former Statutes;* And
" to that end *ſeveral Cauſes are prepared*
" *to put a Difference between the two Hou-*
" *ſes, in point of Juriſdiction,* &c.

But ſuch as more ſeriouſly weigh things, may I hope be convinc'd, Theſe are the groundleſs ſurmiſes of ſom, and falſe ſuggeſtions of others, diſcontented and il diſpos'd perſons, the old diſturbers of our *Iſrael's Peace*, who delighting, to *Fiſh in troubled Waters*, endeavour once more, to put al into a flame of tyranny and confuſion, to ſee what *Fiſh* they may, by that treacherous *Light*, bring to their own *Nets*. That it is idle to imagin, the *Court, the beſt refiner of Wit and Languag*, ſhoud not have as piercing a fore-ſight, as the *Country*; That being allow'd, they muſt be ſenſible of the fatal conſequence of a *divided Hous* or *Kingdom*; their loſs is at leaſt as

as great as any others, their Al is at Stake: 'Tis therefore contrary to their Intereſt, which never lies, conſequently to their practice, to endeavor Parties. 'Tis irrational, no leſs than ſcandalous, to conclud, Becauſe ſom mens ſenſe, by ſecond thoughts, and fuller conſideration of things, is alter'd, that therefore they are brib'd; as if perſonages, of ſo much Honor, Wiſdom, and public ſpiritedneſs, coud be induc'd, by any ſiniſter practices, or by-reſpects, to betray their Country, and intail upon themſelves, and their poſterities, more laſtingly, than they can their Eſtates, great and inexpreſſible Calamities. And can it be ſuppoſed, the *Miniſters* have ſo little underſtanding, as not to foreſee, that the taking off violent Members, any other way, than by conviction of their Errors, were endleſly to encreaſe their Numbers, and *Hydra*-like, by cutting off one Head, to give occaſion, to the ſprouting up of many. Nor is it leſs abſur'd, to beleive, the Parliament, when they find the conveniences, the reaſon of Statutes ceaſed,

ſed, wil not repeal them: 'Tis no affront to their Judgments, nor to their Loyalties, ſo to *alter with the times*; an obſtinacy in the contrary reſolution, woud indeed be a diſparagement, to their Underſtandings. That it is to be hop'd, the Wiſdom of the Parliament is ſuch, as not to quarrel for trifles, after the manner of Women or Children; That they wil lay aſide al partial regards, and without heats, or perſonal reflections, intend the great Work, the common ſafety; recollecting that they were the home-bred Diviſions, more than the Conqueror's Forces, that occaſion'd *Harold*'s Overthrow, and *England*'s intire Subjection to the *French*; even thoſe very Men, who invited *William*, ſuffer'd in the Ruin; So juſt and natural it is, *To love the Treaſon, and hate the Traytor*. Does not every Man know, That the Power of whol *France* is greater, than that of a part, that of *Normandy*, could be? That *William* can't be ſuppos'd, to have been more watchful, to ſeize the Prey, than *Lewis* is? who

per-

perhaps has ſet thoſe very Men, at leaſt their Leaders on work, that openly pretend moſt, to oppoſe his Deſines; while, in the mean time, by ſowing underhand, Diſcords and Fears, among the People, they beſt promote his Purpoſes. 'Tis no unheard-of Practice, for Politicians, as well as Water-men, *To look one way, and Row another:* But I hope, no cunning *Achithophel* will be able to divert the Parliament, from the great Buſineſs of this Conjuncture.

When they have don That; I wiſh they woud think it worth their Labor, To look into the *Laws*, and obſerve what of them, are fit to be repeal'd and what continued. The Happineſs of a State, conſiſts in a regular Form of Goverment, by juſt and equal Laws, few and plain, fitted to the moſt ordinary Capacities: Theſe Qualifications, are as neceſſary to the well-being of the People, as that of Promulgation was ever accounted to the eſſence of a Law. But ſuch is the Fate of *England*, that the *Laws* are almoſt *numberleſs*, which makes *Of Laws.*

them unpoſſible to be remembred; and what is worſe, are ſo very *intricat*, that they may more reaſonably be looked upon, as the devices of cunning men, to entrap the ſimple, than as the Rule, by which al are to ſquare their Actions and their Lives: And what is yet worſe, They were never promulgated, tho provided for, by thoſe Statutes, that enact the reading of ſom of them in Cathedrals at leaſt once a year, and of others four times. Is it fit or juſt, Men ſhoud be puniſhed by Laws they neither *know*, nor can *remember*? There is no one intire *Body of Laws*; That of the *Statutes* is ſo tedious (and ſom yet remain in the Parliament Rolls not printed) that it can hardly be read over in a months time; tho an hundred times reading, wil not enable a man, to remember them, and yet he may ſuffer, for not obſerving what he has not, or if he had, coud not remember: But what is the greateſt Evil, If they coud remember, they coud not *underſtand*; ſince the very Judges, who have not only been *bred at*

the

the Feet, but are themſelves the *Gamaliels* of the Law, and much more, are wont to ſpend whol Terms in the reconciling and expounding of particular Statutes. And it often happens, That after theſe long Adviſements, they being divided, in their Opinions, the Parties concern'd, wearied in thoſe Toyles, endeavor after all their Coſt and Labor, to quit their Right, or impatiently expect the making of new, and more intelligible Laws.

Theſe great diſorders have bin occaſion'd by ſeveral conſpiring accidents, length and warping of Time, crooked Intereſts of ſome Lawyers, and the continual Wars, Forreine or Domeſtick, with which this Country has bin haraſſed, I might ſay, ſince the Invaſion of the *Romans*, &c. But to com nearer our own times, ſince the Conqueſt, ſince the firſt making of theſe Acts, *England* has not enjoyed, one half Century, an intire Peace: To which unhappineſs, I know not whether, the vexation of the Law, or Bigottre of Religion,

have contributed moſt. I do not doubt but in other Ages, they were as ſenſible of the Evil, as we are in this, But the ſame Accidents continuing, rendered it remedileſs. *Edward the Confeſſor* regulated the *Saxon Laws*, but his care prov'd of little advantage after the coming in of the Conqueror; who deſining to ſet up a new Form more agreeable to the *Cuſtoms of Normandy*, or his own Will, made himſelf deaf to the peoples deſires, of being govern'd by the Rules of that holy Prince, who was deſervedly *Sainted*, no leſs for his Zeal, and love of Juſtice, in matters of Law, than for his ſtrictneſs of Life, in thoſe of Religion. From the Conquerors time downwards, there have bin attemps of this kind, almoſt in every Kings Reign; But the Wars, and Diviſions (and conſequently Diſſolutions) that often happend between the Kings & their Parliaments, ſomtimes Lords, ſomtimes Commons, about the *Liberty of the Subject*, or, *Prerogative of the Crown*, (not without good reaſon concluded to have bin ſet on foot by the crafty

crafty Lawyers, by this time grown conſiderable) prevented bringing to paſs, the intended Reformation of the Law. I wil not inſiſt upon al the Kings Reigns, where this was deſin'd, nor go farther back than *Henry* the Eight's time, when ingenious Sir *Thomas More*, was by him ſet on work, to fram a *Model*: But the ſucceeding accidents fruſtrated that attempt: the Troubles and Revolutions that continued, during the Reigns of *Edward the* ſixth, *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*, hindred this work, which at wiſe *Burleigh*'s adviſe was reſolved on, by the later Queen. The learned *King James*, determined to finiſh it; and the knowing *Sir Francis Bacon* was pitched upon, to fram a Schem of new Laws, or model the old; But the diſcontents about Religion, with the greater artifice of the Lawyers, then more numerous, diverted that glorious Enterprize.

Some living were Actors, others Spectators, of the Troubles that have ſince happen'd, which gave way not to a Reformation, but Confuſion of the Laws; and

and yet the *Long-Parliament* (or rather Conventicle) knowing their great, and good Maſter purpos'd it, reſolv'd upon a new Method of Laws. But the *Idol* themſelves, had ſet up, as a juſt reward of their Treaſon, prevented this, by turning them out of doors, with their beloved *Magna Charta*, calling it in Contempt *Magna f*——. Too many in other Countries, no leſs than this, have wholly loſt their Freedom, by endeavoring to enlarge it, beyond Law and Reaſon; as it has alſo ſomtimes befallen ambitious Princes, who, ſtriving to augment their Power, and Dominions, beyond the boundaries of Juſtice, have, inſtead of new Acquiſts, forfeited their antient and lawful poſſeſſions. The *Gardiners Aſs* in the *Apologue* deſining to mend himſelf by changing Maſters, found at a dear-bought experience, none ſo kind as the firſt; The Obſervation of the Evil of thoſe days has given us reaſon, to believe, That wiſdom beſt, which is learnt at the coſt of others, and to remember the Wiſe mans advice, *Meddle not with thoſe who*

are

bas

are given to change. This I ſpeak as to the *Fundamental* of the Goverment, which can never be alter'd by the Wit of Man, but for the worſe: But the *Superſtructures* of *Hay* and *Stubble* are grown ſo cumberſom and rotten, that they are fit for nothing but the Fire.

Though I am far from giving credit, to any prediction, or *Prophecy*, but thoſe of Holy Writ, yet I can't but remember you, of that old Latin one, *Rex albus*, &c. on which you know, our wiſhes taught us, to fix a pleaſing interpretation. This hint wil bring to your mind, what perhaps has not been there almoſt theſe thirty Years, That both for his Innocence, and the accidental Snow, that fel on his Herſe, the *late King Charles* was that *white King*, who for ſome time, was to be the laſt in England: That afterwards his Son, ſhoud from beyond the Seas, return to the poſſeſſion of his Crown, and that in his dayes, Religion and Laws ſhoud be reform'd, and ſetl'd, upon the eternal Foundations of Truth and Juſtice. The fulfilling of this Pro-

pheſie

phesie now, wil seem as miraculous an Effect of Providence, as that of our Soverain's Restauration, and wil as much eternize the Wisdom of the Parliament, as the other their Loyalty. What remains of this undon, we might hope to see finisht, as old as we are, if they woud be pleas'd to espouse it heartily, and defend themselves against the noyse, wranglings, and opposition of the Lawyers and Clergy, who are no more to be consulted in this Case, than Merchants concerning Exchange, &c. because, as the Wise *Syracides* observ'd, their Interest woud byas them: "*There* "*is* (saith he) *that counselleth for him-* "*self; beware therefore of a Counsellor;* "*and know before what need he hath, for* "*he wil counsel for himself.*

There was Law before Lawyers; there was a time when the *Common Customs* of the Land were sufficient to secure *Meum* and *Tuum*; What has made it since so difficult? nothing but the Comments of Lawyers, confounding the Text, and writhing the Laws like a Nose of Wax,

to

to what Figure beſt ſerves their purpoſe. Thus the great *Cook*, bribed perhaps by Intereſt, or Ambition, pronounced that *in the Interpretation of Laws, the Judges are to be believed before the Parliament:* But others, and with better Reaſon, affirm, That 'tis one of the great Ends of the Parliaments Aſſembling, To determin ſuch cauſes, as ordinary Courts of Juſtice coud not decide.

The Laws of *England*, are divided into Common and Statute Law; the Common are antient Cuſtomes, which by the unanimous and continued uſage of this Kingdom, have worn themſelves into Law; Statutes are the poſitive Laws of the Land, founded on particular accidents and conveniences not provided for by the Common Law; Civil and Canon Law, are of no force, but as they are incorporated, into the body of one or other of theſe Laws, if either may be call'd a body which has neither head nor foot; For they lye ſcatter'd in ſom few books, *Bracton*, *Littleton*, *Glanvil*, *Fleta*, *Cook*,

Cook, *Plouden*, *Dier*, *Crook*, *&c.* their Commentaries or Reports; or rather in the arbitrary Opinion of the Judges, or ſom celebrated Lawyers; For nothing is in this Trade certain or regular; what one gives under his hand for Law, another gives the direct contrary; Judgments and Decrees reverſt, as if that coud be juſt one day, that is unjuſt another: and why in *England* muſt Law and Equity be two things? Since Reaſon & Conſcience in all other parts of the World are one and the ſame; and why cannot Laws be ſo plainly worded, as that men of common ſence, may without an interpreter, diſcover the meaning? if they be not ſo order'd, ſpeedy and exact juſtice wil at beſt be retarded. But you'l tel me there woud be no need to complain, if men woud follow Chriſt's advice, *If any man wil ſue thee at the Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak alſo; the Reaſon was ſo plain, that it was needleſs to expreſs it*, viz. leaſt the Lawyer, ſhoud com between, and ſtrip you naked, even of your ſhirt. This

you

you ſee is prudence as wel as Religion, as indeed al Chriſts precepts are in the very affairs of this World. Whatſoever was true of the Jewiſh Lawyers, the preſent practiſe of ſome of ours, renders them Obnoxious, to the cenſures of the ſober, & the curſes of the paſſionate; moſt men agreeing, that to go to Law, is like a Lottery, or playing at Dice, where if the game be obſtinatly purſu'd, the Box-keeper is commonly the greateſt Winner. But ſince ſom men wil be fools or knaves, why ſhoud not the few honeſt be as much ſecured as poſſible?

When the Parliament have ſetled the Laws, I wiſh they woud think of ſom more fitting reſtraint of Offences, than what the penal Statutes direct almoſt for every crime, The *Loſs of Life*. If we examin the ſeverity of this practice, we ſhall find it contrary to the Law of nature, the poſitive Law of God, *Thou ſhalt not Kil*, and ineffective of the intent of Laws, Amendment. Self preſervation is the chief deſign of Nature; To better which, and not to deſtroy it, was the ground

ground and end of Goverment and Laws; which makes it contrary to Reaſon, That any Means ſhoud be made or declared ſuch, which were deſtructive of the end, for which they were made.

If then the loſs of life, as it moſt certainly do's, puts an end, to al earthly happineſs, 'tis evident, that it never was, nor ever coud be, judg'd an Inſtrument productive of that end; perhaps it may be ſaid, that this may be true, of every ſingle man, as ſuch; and yet may be falſe, when conſider'd, with reſpect to the whole, as a Member of the Society: I anſwer, It can't be true, in the later, if falſe in the former; Becauſe we muſt believe, that at firſt, every man conſider'd what was abſolutely beſt for himſelf, without any reſpect to another, on whom, he cannot be ſuppos'd otherwiſe to look, then as he was, or might be ſubſervient, to his own particular and immediate happineſs. And ſince the whole is made up but of ſeveral individuals, it muſt be granted, that every of them had the ſame conſiderations: and

ſince

ſince it was not in the power of any, to transfer that right to another, which nature had deny'd to himſelf, we may then ſafely conclude, it is againſt the Law of nature *i. e.* againſt reaſon, to believe, that the power, of Life or Death, by conſent of al, without which there was no law, coud at firſt be veſted in any ſupreme power; and that the uſing of it, does naturally put us into a ſtate of war, the Evil becauſe directly deſtructive of Happineſs, deſign'd to be avoided. This is a truth imply'd in the Law of England, not only by binding the Criminals to reſtrain their Warring, but alſo by the puniſhment inflicted on *Felo's de ſe*, which ſuppoſes no man to have power over his own life, as certainly he muſt have had if he coud have given it to another. Nor wil the difficulty be remov'd whether we derive goverment either of the other two ways, Paternal right, or the immediat gift of God; for Parents had no ſuch Power by nature, in the ſtate whereof we are al equal. We are little more oblig'd to them

for our being, than to the influence of the Sun, both as to us are involuntary cauſes; that which binds children to an indiſpenſable duty of gratitude, is the parents care in providing for their wel-being, when they are unable to ſhift for themſelves, and their giving them virtuous education, (that which is of al, the trueſt obligation,) than which nothing is among us more neglected; which has made ſom at the gallows, not without cauſe, take up the advice of *Jobs* Wife againſt God, firſt curſe their parents, and then dye; Children may indeed be ungrateful, which is the worſt, or the Al of crimes, but parents cannot revenge this by death without being unjuſt; becauſe there ought to be a proportion between the crime, and the Puniſhment, and a warrantable Authority in him that inflicts it, which in this caſe are al wanting; for Ingratitude, Theft, Rapin, and what ever elſe is practis'd by the wicked, are in themſelves repairable, and the ſufferer may in an equal meaſure be compenſated for his loſs, for *bona fortu-*

næ

ne or *the goods of Fortune* are exterior to us, and consequently accidental, and when we are despoil'd of them by any, we have ful satisfaction by a restitution in specie, or in value; this cours is the measure and square of al Civil contracts; for if I detain wrongfuly the mony you lent me, I am compellable but to repay you. Why then shoud it be Capital, to take your Horse without consent, when either restitution, or a punishment more commensurate to the Offence may be had? As for the authority of the punisher which must be warrantable, it is plain the Father has no such over the Children who in the state of Nature are equal with him; for since he gave not the Being, he cannot legally take it away, and for the Act destroy the Agent; punishment being design'd, not only for the terror of others, but for the amendment of the Offender: To destroy then the last, that such as are guiltless may continue so, is to my apprehension, a piece of the highest Injustice. Besides, no Prince

claims a right over the Subjects Life, what ever he does to his Crown, otherwiſe than by the poſitive Laws of the Land, which ſuppoſe the man himſelf to have given that power by his conſent, which is already prov'd impoſſible; Therefore we may conclude, the inflicting of Death is againſt the poſitive Law of God, who has reſerv'd this to himſelf, as a peculier Prerogative, and altho he has allow'd the Rulers of the Earth to ſhare in his Titles, yet leaſt they ſhoud intrench on his Honor (of which he is very jealous) by exceeding the bounds of Reaſon, he immediatly ſubjoyns, but *ye ſhal dy like men*, to put them in mind that they were to act as ſuch. It cannot then be ſuppos'd, that human conſtitution can make that juſt which the Almighty declares unlawful. He that does ſo, ſets himſelf up above al that is called God, deſtroys moral good and evil, makes Vertue and Vice but only names, which if allow'd, we may bid farwel to the People and Princes ſecurity; for this, roots up the very Foundations

dations of Peace on Earth, as wel as joy in Heaven.

Nor will it ſerve to ſay, This was practiſed in the *Jewiſh* Commonwealth; That was God's own peculiar Province; and He that was ſole Author of Life, might diſpoſe on't at his pleaſure; and tho every part of that Oeconomy be not accountable, yet 'tis not without good Grounds ſuppos'd, becauſe the *Jews* Happineſs or Miſery ſeems to have conſiſted in the enjoyment or want of Temporal Bleſſings, that the taking away Life here, was in lieu of that puniſhment, which Sinners under the Goſpel, are to receive in another Life: And unleſs Human Laws might as immediatly be call'd His, and that every Magiſtrat were a *Moſes*, I coud not believe it lawful for them to follow that Example; eſpecially conſidering, that they do not write after this Copy, in the puniſhment of al Crimes: I will not make Compariſon in many, yet I can't but take notice, that Idolaters, and Inciters to it, were there puniſht with Death,

while among us Atheiſm and Irreligion do not only go free, but the Profeſſors of thoſe admirable good Qualities, paſs for Wits and *Virtuoſo*'s: Drunkenneſs, and Gluttony, are eſteem'd as Marks of good Breeding; computing the Abilities of our Brains, by the number of Bottles our Stomacs can hold: This Vice, among the *Jews*, was accounted ſo ridiculouſly ſilly, that they coud not believe, it was poſſible for Men grown to the ordinary years of Underſtanding to be guilty of it; and therfore we find no Puniſhment allotted, but for Children, *viz.* That if drunken or gluttonous Children did not by the Parent's Admonition and Correction learn more Wit, that then their Parents were oblig'd to bring them forth, and teſtify their Folly, and with the Congregation ſtone them to Death.

But this abominable childiſh Crime, the Mother of al imaginable wickedneſs, has among us no Puniſhment, or what is the ſame, if not worſe, none inflicted.

As to the third part of the Aſſertion, *viz.*

viz. That the loſs of Life is ineffencive of the Intent of the Law, Amendment; This will appear tru, by obſerving, that Men, whoſe looſe Education has made it their Intereſt, to wiſh there were no other Life, by often wiſhing, and never conſidering, come at laſt to be Fools; and with them, *to ſay in their Hearts, there is no God:* we have no way to live, thanks to our *good Parents*, or *our Country*, but to rob, or ſteal; as for the next Life, if there be any ſuch thing, let that look to it ſelf; let us provide for this; a ſhort one, and a merry; who knows, but we may eſcape ſeven years? and that's the Age of a Man: If we are taken, and can't get a Pardon, 'tis but a few Minutes Pain, and there's an end: Thus theſe fooliſh Wretches diſcourſe themſelves to the Gallows; on which, did you but know, the vaſt numbers hang'd, for ſom years laſt paſt, you woud quicly believe, that ſort of Puniſhment rather makes more, than frightens any, from being Thieves, Robbers, or other Criminals. In the *Eaſtern Monarchies*,

the greateſt *Emperors*, the *Turk* himſelf tho always in War, fancy ſome kind of Art or Trade; and by this do not only divert themſelves, but by their Examples more powerful than any precept, oblige the People to ſo neceſſary a Practice. The Ladies, even the greateſt, of al other Countries, have *callings* too, and ſpend not their whole dayes, in making and receiving Viſits, or in Preparations for them, exquiſit Dreſſings. If by ſuch a Courſe, or any other, People were induc'd not to live in Idleneſs, none woud be under a neceſſity of ſtarving, or breaking the Laws, as many now are. And if afterwards, any were ſtil found guilty, a Puniſhment likely to prevent others, and do a farther Good to the Public, woud be to take away the Names of al Criminals, that *They may be no more had in Remembrance*; put them into a common Livery, a Fools-coat, red and yellow; keep their Heads continually ſhav'd, their Fore-heads ſtigmatiz'd with Marks diſtinguiſhing their Crimes, and their Eſtates forfeited to increaſe the

Princes

Princes Revenu; condemn them to public Work-houſes, Mines, or Galleys: The Labor and Toyl, the hard Fare, and the Diſgrace, woud deter more than Death; and, as ſom believe, be more agreeable to the dictates of Nature, to the Law of God, and to the profit of the Common-wealth. In Caſes of Murther, the Public loſes too much by the Slain; It wil not fetch him back, to ſend another after him: Why then, ſhoud they think themſelves ſatisfy'd for one Loſs, to have it doubled upon them by another? But ſuppoſing (which I never can allow) that Reaſon requires Life for Life, can it think it equal, to ſet the Life of a Man but at a Shilling? Is a Horſe, or a Cow, a Sheep or a Deer, or a leſs thing, a Cock or a Hen, an equal price for a Man's Life?

And yet for Perjury, he ſuffers but a pecuniary Mulct, or loſs of ears. Why ſhoud not he that ſwears falſly at leaſt have his Tongue cut out? In the Jewiſh Law, the Perjurer was to ſuffer the ſame kind of Evil, that he brought upon his Neighbor,

Neighbor; and at this day among the Perſians and Indians, a lyer is not only depriv'd of Honor, but of al further ſpeech: had it bin thus enacted among Chriſtians, the falſe Tongue, and the lying lips, woud not have deſtroy'd ſo many mens lives and fortunes. But if we wil not, after the *Jewiſh*, and Roman manner, bring in reparation or the *lex talionis*, which with them was practis'd in other caſes beſides that of felony; Let us at leaſt, make ſome further proviſion for the ſecurity of mans Life, let it be put out of the Power of one Witneſs, obſerving that great Law that ſaid, *at the mouth of two witneſſes or three, ſhal he that is worthy of Death, be put to Death, but at the mouth of one witneſs, he ſhal not be put to Death.* What I ſeem to ſay paradoxically on this ſubject, I woud have you underſtand, as I intend it, of the firſt ſocieties of mankind; and you may likewiſe further obſerve, that tho cuſtom and the poſitive Laws have made puniſhment by Death, the practiſe of al Nations, yet with humble ſubmiſ-

ſion,

ſion to my ſuperiours, I perſwade my ſelf, it was introduc'd by abſolute power among the Heathens, and ſince continued among Chriſtians, becauſe they did not fully conſider, that a better way might be found for correcting and avoiding crimes.

Having now provided againſt Death, upon the account of any Crime, it may wel enuff conſiſt with the Kings Mercy and goodneſs (which invite him to be tender of the Lives of his Subjects) to determin poſitively, *never to grant a Pardon* or remittal of the puniſhment to any Criminal, tho never ſo great a Perſon. In *Edward the thirds* time it was enacted That *no Pardon ſhoud be granted out of Parliament*; I wiſh it might graciouſly pleaſe his Majeſty with his Parliament, To enact further, That no Pardon ſhoud at any time be granted; Then which I am ſure nothing woud more contribute to the perfect obſervance of the Laws.

Tho our *Laws* cannot, yet an intire *execution* of them in their utmoſt ſeverity,

verity, may be as unalterable, as those of the *Meads* and *Persians*; which cours would prevent the many ill effects the *hope of Pardon* does now daily occasion, tho there never were fewer granted, yet so long as there is any ground of hope, the Debauchee is incouraged to go on in his folly, and none being particularly excluded, he reckons himself not incapable of that Grace.

Of the Courts of Judicature.

But now admitting, that the *Laws* were never so good, if they be not *duly and equally Administred* by the several *Courts of Judicature*, the Evils do still remain. To prevent which great Inconvenience, such has been the happy Contrivance of *England*'s Constitutions, that the same Power that gives the Law, cannot only pronounce it (in spite of *Cok*'s Assertion to the contray) but has also determined, That it should be a part of its own Power, To cal al inferior Courts, and Officers, Justices of the Peace, and others, to a strict examination, How they have squared their Actions and Proceedings, to the Rule

Rule they have given them; From which, when they are found to deviat, it woud be for the advantage of al, That the Parliament woud exert its antient Power, In regulating the many *Abuſes* crept into *inferior Courts*: Into which if there was ever need of looking, there is now at this day, when the complaints are loud; By which, tho perhaps *Molehills* may be made *Mountains*, Yet al this *Smoak* cannot be without ſom *Fire*. This I have bin told for certain, That their Judgments are founded as much upon Rules or interpretations of Statutes of their own pleaſure, introduc'd by the intreſt of Lawyers, and Officers, as upon the ſtrict letter of the Lawes, in which your Education, tho not your Practice, and your long Obſervation, has made it ſuperfluous for me, to particularife the many Irregularities in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, which woud fil a larg Volum.

But to begin with the *Courts*, I think it were convenient that each of the *Four at Weſtminſter* ſhoud be reduced to their ancient

antient Practice, and not ſuffered to *Encroah upon one another*, to the Subjects great vexation, who often quits his Cauſe rather than follow it thro al the mazes of the ſeveral Courts, where at laſt after ſom years toſſing by *Writs of Error*, &c. from *Poſt* to *Pillar*, if his mony does but hold out, to make the Lawyers that ſport, he may ſit down by his loſs, or have recours to the *Arbitriment* of two honeſt Neighbors, which at firſt had bin the ſpeedieſt, and cheapeſt way of juſtice.

In antient days, the *Kings Bench* intermedled only, with the *Pleas of the Crown*; But now an *Ac Etiam*, uſhered in by a feignd aſſertion of *Force and Arms*, and by ſuppoſing the *Defendant* to be in *Cuſtodia Mareſcalli*, or the *Plaintiffe* privileg'd ſom other way in that Court, robbs the *Common Bench*, whoſe juriſdiction even by *Magna Charta* is of al *Common Pleas between Party and Party*. The *Common Bench*, by practice of Atturneys not to be behind hand, has likwiſe of late days introduced an *Ac Etiam*, and ſeveral Debts or

Pro-

Promiſes are ſuppos'd, with intent to bind the Subject to *ſpecial Bail*, wheras I am confident, it cannot either by Common or Statute Law be evinced, that antiently *ſpecial Bail* or a *Capias*, before Summons was in any action required; and that therfore it is a meer invention to get mony, and to vex and impoveriſh the Subject.

The *Exchequer* was only to hold Plea, of ſuch Actions, where the *Plaintiff* was really *indebted to the King*, (and perhaps too, not able otherwiſe to pay it) or where the Parties were by their Priviledg to plead or to be impleaded in that Court. But now, by falſly ſuggeſting, *They are indebted to the King*, and not able to pay him but out of the thing in demand, they are ſuffered to ſu in that Court, alleadging a *Quo minus*, &c. in their Declaration: But before ſuch Irregularities were introduced, it was not ſo much Law, as Honeſty, Prudence, and skil in Arithmetick, that were the neceſſary Qualifications of the *Barons*: In which Court, a *Chancery* was erected,

to

to moderate the Rigor of the Fines and Amerciaments estreated into that Court, and to extend to the Kings Debtors, those favors which the Barons coud not shew. The Causes then remaining for the *High Court of Chancery*, were the *Penalties and Forfeitures between man and man*, which at Common Law were du, and al other Causes, that for *want of Evidence* were no where els tryable. But such have bin the mighty contrivance of the Practisers in that Court, that they have found out a way for the Trial of al Causes there, where notwithstanding a mans pretence in his Bil, *That he wants Witnesses* (tho that be but a tric to intitle the Court to the action) after he has Obliged the Defendant to swear against himself, contrary to the Common Law, that of Nature *Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*, which seems to be the positive intent of *Magna Charta*, he takes out a *Commission to Examin Witnesses*. In the *Civil Law* the *Complainant*, if required, is obliged, as wel as the Defendant, to *swear the Truth*

of

of the Bill; and ſure, that is as fitting to be don, in the King's great Court of Equity and Conſcience, as in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice in other Nations. Nor woud it be amiſs, That al *Witneſſes* ſhoud in that Court, as wel as others, give their *Teſtimony, Viva voce*, and that there ſhoud be ſom unalterable *Rules* both for the Officers of the Court, and the Clients; ſince Conſcience, and right Reaſon, are alwayes the ſame and unalterable; which woud prevent the *Reverſing of Decrees*, (a tacit Confeſſion They were unjuſt) and other Inconveniences, too many to be recounted; only One is ſo notorious, I cannot paſs it by, The aſſuming a Power of *Impeaching Judgements at Common-Law*, which the Statute declares to be *Premunire*.

Another Practice as inconvenient as any, is, The Judges giving too great an Authority to *a former Judges Report or Opinion:* It were to be wiſh'd, That in the reſt of the Courts, the preſent Practice of the wiſe *Lord Chancellor Finch* were obſerved; who conſidering That

a *Report* is founded upon ſuch Reaſons, as are not with the Report convey'd to us, that only ſtating in brief the matter of Fact; and that the Caſe is alterable by any one Accident, rightly infers, *That no Report, but the Reaſon of the preſent Caſe ſquared to the Rules of the Law, ought to guide his Judgment.*

To this may be added, That in every Court there ſhoud be a ſetled *Number* of *Clerks*, *Attorneys*, & *Lawyers* as wel as *Judges*: That theſe how juſt ſoever, ſhoud not continu above *three Years* in any one Court. Whatever the Sherifs Power was formerly, ſure I am, That exerciſed by the *Judges* exceeds what now they are poſſeſt of; and yet the Wiſdom, of former Ages, thought not fit, to intruſt the former two years together. That they ſhoud be oblig'd to give an Account in public of al their proceedings, at the expiration of the ſaid time. That they be under a pecuniary Mulct, beſides an Oath, to adminiſter juſtice impartially, in imitation of God, who to mind them of their great Duty, graces them with his

own

own Title, saying, *Ye are al Gods*, and therfore must do as I do, ye shal not regard *in judgment the Power of the Mighty, nor the Distress of the Poor.* That the Judges, Lawyers, Atturneys and Clarks, shoud have *out of the public Revenu*, sufficient establisht *Salaries*; To take no *Fees*, or *Gratuity* whatsoever directly or indirectly; It not seeming reasonable that the people shoud pay any thing for Justice, But as that Charge may be included in the public Taxes; That *no Offices* whatsoever be *Sold*, and nothing but Merit to intitle any man; For if Offices be purchased by the interest of Friends, or Mony, it is unreasonable, to expect, That Justice too, may not be bought and sold; And for this Reason, it is as fit to make Laws, against this practice in others, as against *Simony* in the Clergy. No man to have *two Offices*, or to act by *Deputy*, but on extraordinary occasions. That al *Causes* be determin'd, at fartherst in *six months*; And that such, as thro difficulty, or other accidents, can't be determin'd with-

in that time, the *Parliament* at next Seſſions ſhoud decide them. To oblige the Judges to proceed exactly according to the ſtrict Rules of the Law made by Parliaments: For notwithſtanding what the Lord *Coke* ſays, 'Tis their duty, only *Legem Dicere*, not *Legem dare*; And therfore, where ever any thing comes to be diſputed, of the meaning of the Statutes, or that any Cauſe happens, for which there is not exact and ſufficient proviſion made, they are to have recourſe to the *Parliament*, whoſe Power is not only *Legem dare*, but *dicere*: For it appears, That in antient times, when Juſtice was more ſpeedy, and Statutes fewer, or rather none at al, the great buſineſs of the *Parliament*, was to give Sentence in al difficult Cauſes, and to correct the miſcarriages, or ſiniſter Practiſe of al inferior Courts and Officers, and therfore was commonly known by the name of *Curia Magna*. Before the Conquerors time, there was no ſuch thing, as *Courts at Weſtminſter-Hal*; The manner then, of diſtributing Juſtice,

was

was both ſpeedy and cheap: the County being divided into ſeveral Portions, there was in every *Manner* a *Court*, where al the Cauſes, arriving within that Precinct, were determined by the *Thane* and his aſſiſtants; but if too hard, they were removed by Appeal to the higher *Court* of the *Hundred*, where al the chief and Wiſe Men within that Territory with the *Hundreder* or *Aldermannus* gave Judgment; And if any Cauſe proved too difficult for this Court, then they appeal'd to the *County Court*, where al the ſeveral *Thanes* and *Hundreders* with the chief of the County call'd *Comes*, and ſomtimes *Vicecomes*, judged it: But ſuch Cauſes as were too intricat for them, were remov'd to the *great Court* or *Parliament*, then known by ſeveral other Names: Which juriſdiction was exercized, ſome Ages after the Conqueſt: Whence *Sir Edward Coke* may be wel ſuſpected a greater Lawyer than an Antiquary; or els the liberty they took, was the occaſion of his exalting the Judges Power, in expounding Sta-

tutes, above that of the Parliament.

Having now made it plain That the *Parliament* has this *Power*, and always had, it were to be wiſhed, they woud make uſe of it, in ſtrictly *regulating* the *Diſorders* of al *inferior Courts*, as wel Eccleſiaſtical as Civil: Which perhaps can never be better don, than after the manner of the famous *Venetian* Commonwealth, by erecting a new Magiſtracy, or Court of Inſpection, *public Cenſors*, men of great Candor and Integrity, whoſe Power ſhoud extend, to the Cognizance of al manner of Actions in Courts great and ſmal; Of the demeanor of al Officers of the State of what degree or quality ſoever, who taking care thus of the Execution of the Laws, ſhoud be oblig'd from time to time, to give a ful and impartial *Information to the Parliament*, in whoſe Power alone it ſhoud be, upon Conviction of the Criminal, to Suſpend, Degrade, or otherwiſe Puniſh, according to the Proviſions they themſelves make in ſuch caſes, That it may be lawful for all Perſons to addreſ-

addreſs themſelves immediatly to theſe *Cenſors*, whoſe Information ſhall by them be fully Examined, and neither their Informers, nor themſelves, lyable to any Actions or Sutes, upon account of their Proceedings; to be accountable, to the grand and ſupreme Court of Judicature: That their Number be ſuch, as may ſerve to go Circuits round the Kingdom. Theſe, as the other Judges to be altered, every 3 *Years*.

And becauſe nothing does more conduce, to the good of man-kind, next to wholſom Laws, and the practice of piety, than the *Knowledge of things paſt*: not any thing being truer, then that *what is, has bin, and there's nothing new under the Sun*; a perfect relation of which begets a great Underſtanding and deep Judgment; the ſence whereof made a Wiſe King ſay, *None were ſo faithful Counſellors, as the Dead:* That therefore the Parliament woud appoint two of the moſt learned of thoſe Cenſors (acquainted with al the moſt ſecret affairs of ſtate; which if not as Counſellors, yet as Hearers, under the ſame obligation of ſecrecy, as

Secretaries or Clarks of the Counſel, they may underſtand) to *write* eſpecially the *matters of fact of al affairs and occurrences.* The *Annals* not to be made public, til the Writers, and al concern'd, were gon off the Stage. The fear of Offending, and the advantage of Flattery, being remov'd, future ages woud in the truth of *Hiſtory* find that great Rule of Judgment and Prudence, the World has hitherto been deprived of: There being (a man may ſafely ſay) no tru profane *Hiſtory* in the World, ſave that of the Wiſe *Chineſes*, who have obſerv'd this practice, for ſeveral Thouſands of Years; keeping the *Records*, as an *Arcanum* for their Princes, who by theſe means, have gain'd a ſteddy judgment, in their own ſtate-affairs; which is the reaſon given, for the long and proſperous continuance of that great Monarchy.

Of Liberty and Property.

When the Laws, and Execution of them, are thus eſtabliſhed, every Man will be ſufficiently ſecur'd in the Enjoyment of his *Liberty* and *Property*; which,

which, tho commonly taken for two, are in reality one and the ſame thing. I underſtand by *the firſt*, that Power, Man has reſerv'd to himſelf when he enter'd into Society; that is, a Liberty of doing any thing, except what the Law forbids; or of living conformably to the Laws; not of ſpeaking contemptuouſly, of the *Rulers of the People*, nor of doing what he pleaſe, tho the Law reſtrain it. By *Property*, I conceive meant, the right of Enjoying peaceably privat Poſſeſſions as bounded by Law: *Liberty* then reſpects the *Perſon*, and *Property* the *Eſtate*. Theſe two, I perceive, you have joyn'd with *Religion*, as the three great Abſtracts of Human Concerns; For, I preſume, you conſider *Religion* as it is part of that Policy, by which the State is govern'd, and as ſuch I ſhal chiefly take notice of it; leaving it, as it refers to the Soul, and a future Life, to *Divines*, whoſe proper Office it is. Taking it then for granted, That every wiſe Man will ſtudy that which neereſt concerns him; and,

Of Religion.

That

That the Intereſt of the Soul, and eternal Life, do's far exceed the valu of this our tranſitory Being; That all Human Laws, are therefore binding, becauſe agreeable to Nature or Reaſon, that is, to the Signatures of the Divine Will: That *true Religion* was the Law of God, and its end, the Happineſs of Man in this Life, as well as in that which is to Come: That it was divided into two Parts, *Duty to God*, and *to One another*; which later to the thinking Man reſolves into *Love of himſelf*, who muſt find, that his Happineſs conſiſting in the Enjoyment of himſelf, cannot be without the mutual Offices and Endearments of Love; which obliges him, in ſpite of all his Paſſions, when he fully conſiders things, *To do to all Men, as he would be don unto:* This then being Human Happineſs, and the End and Foundation of the Laws of God and Man, it was Wiſdom to annex this great motive of Obedience, *Religion*, or the *Conſideration of future Rewards and Puniſhments*, to invite us the more powerfully, to the Obedience of Laws; without,

out which, even in this Life, we coud not be Happy, they being ſubbordinat to one another; that as our Duty in one, makes us happy here, ſo that of the other ſuperadds a farther Bleſſing, and makes us happy hereafter; which later in the connexion of Things, thus ordered by Providence, was not attainable without the other: And which indeed do's declare *Religion* not to be a part of *Policy*, but tru Policy to be a part of it; or, in plainer words, That Human Laws are ſo much better, that is, ſo much more binding, as they com nearer to the Laws of Religion; contrary to which nothing in any Human Inſtitution, can be obligatory; that is, no Society of Men can make that juſt, which the Law of Religion, or Reaſon, has made unjuſt: If then the Intereſt of State, and Religion, be ſo intermixt, it is no wonder, That Men ſhoud be very ſollicitous not to be miſtaken, in that which comprehends *Both*, the *Human*, and the *Divine*, or among us, the *Chriſtian Law*: And becauſe it is as natural for Men, to have different

ferent Underſtandings, conſequently different Opinions (which are the neceſſary Effects of the former, or of Education, and both equally out of our Power) as 'tis to have different Complexions: It is impoſſible, that all Men ſhould exactly agree, in the meaning of any difficult Matter. If then the Meaning of the Law be not to be had, 'tis not our Fault if we do not obey it, which we muſt do, or be miſerable. Now, becauſe many evil Conſequences, if not prevented, woud iſſu from hence, we muſt conſider farther, That al wiſe Law-givers impoſe nothing beyond the Power of the Perſon under the Law; For, Law being the Rule of Actions, if I do not or cannot know it, 'tis no Rule to me. Therefore, to underſtand this great Affair aright, let us examin, whether theſe following Poſitions, and their Conſequences, be not natural Truths.

That God did really purpoſe the Happineſs of al Mankind: That therefore, the way, or means, by which that was to be attained, was to be plain and eaſy,

no

no matter of doubt or diſpute: That this way, is no where delivered unerringly, but in the Scriptures, which al Chriſtians allow, to be the Word of God: That al the Diſputes, are pretended to be proved by Scripture, that is, by Conſequences from thence: And ſince al the Parts of that Holy Writing muſt agree with one another, 'tis plain, that the Conſequences are not natural, becauſe contradictory, of which, both parts can't be tru; and therefore, the Matter in diſpute concerns us not: That, ſince al our Duty is compriz'd in Scripture, the Rule for the Ignorant, as wel as the Learned, Comments do amuſe, and confound, rather than expound the Text: That Diſputes, begetting Heat and Paſſion, are not only impertinent to our Duty, but uncharitable and deſtructive of Chriſtianity: That only the Fundamentals can be tru, or neceſſary, becauſe in them alone al agree. That Chriſt has told us, the ſum of al is, *To love one another*, a pleaſing and a natural Command: That he is *the way*,

the

the *Truth*, and the *Life*: That whoſoever *Believeth in* Him, *ſhall* never periſh: That Happineſs is not attainable here, nor hereafter, but by following his Example, and believing his Doctrine, *viz.* what is poſitively affirm'd in Scripture, without examining, how or why; if thoſe had bin neceſſary, he woud not have left them to the uncertain Diſputes of after Ages. That al Ceremonies are in themſelves indifferent, but when commanded, are neceſſary in their uſe and practice; but alterable, at the pleaſure of the Impoſers: That no Man can be a Chriſtian, that hates his Brother, *i. e.* He obeys not *Chriſt*'s Command, gives not up himſelf to the new Commandment, that of *Loving one another*: That no Man can avoid Differences in Opinion; and ſince they are not the Effects of our Choyce, they are not ſinful; therefore, he that condems another, for not being of his Opinion, after he has endeavour'd, without Prejudice or Intereſt, to examin and *hold faſt* that which is beſt, conſiders not what he ſays, or if he

he do, he is proud and fooliſh, becauſe he ſays, by an implicit Conſequence, none is Wiſe but himſelf: That Faith is the Gift of God, but conſidered in Man, 'tis a neceſſary Act; for when a Man is convinc'd, that is, has no doubts of the Credibility of the Propoſition, its conformity to Reaſon, nor of the Perſon that he can neither deceive, as having no Intereſt, nor be deceiv'd, as wanting no knowledg, 'tis impoſſible for him, not to give up his Aſſent, Whether Morality or Chriſtianity be (which is much doubted) really different, they can never be aſunder; for the man that is not honeſt, is not, nor cannot be if he continues ſo, a Chriſtian; that what is tru in Philoſophy, can't be falſe in Divinity; and both Affirm, He that does al he can do, is not to be blam'd, he has don his Duty. That different Opinions not being avoidable, are in themelves, as harmleſs and tolerable in a Society, as men can be; becauſe, til the Man be convinced, his ſenſe of things can't poſſibly be alter'd, after Conviction, he that

con-

continues in an Error, *i. e.* that perſeveres, in ſpreading ſuch Opinions, as are deſtructive of good life, and of public Peace, is a lyer or a mad man; the firſt, if he do not repent, ought to be expell'd the Commonwealth; the other, if he will not grow ſober, muſt be ſent to *Bedlam*. From al which, it plainly follows, that our Opinions are not free, that no man has liberty of Opinion, and that he who deſires liberty of ſpeaking what he pleaſes, is unreaſonable, if he intends to ſay any thing, that ſhal diſturb the Peace, and Quiet of his Country; if he may be reſtrain'd from that, his Errors can miſchief no other than himſelf: If the caſe then be thus, how comes it to paſs, that men fal out, and wrangle about nothing? ſeek knots in Bulruſhes, make difficulties where God and Nature never made any, puzzle themſelves and others? Let them fool on that have nothing elſe to do, and follow the Heathens advice, *'Tis better to do nothing than be idle*. This I confeſs woud not be very Tragical, if they woud be con-

tent to be idle themſelves, and not make work, and ſad work too, for others: But, Alas, they rob their Maſter of his Power; and dogmatically pronounce, we muſt believe more than Chriſt tels us is required, or elſe we cannot be ſav'd in the next Life, nor happy in this; and many of us are ſuch ſilly Fools, that we believe them; and acting accordingly, too great a number, I fear, make their Aſſertions good, as thoſe ignorant People do, who giving Credit to Aſtrologers, by ſquaring their Actings to the Predictions, and therefore ſomtimes finding theſe things com to paſs, are not only deluded themſelves, but incourage others to be ſo by ſuch Nonſenſical Impoſtors. But ſince al Men have not Underſtanding, you'l ask, How the Evil ſhal be cur'd? The Remedies are only two: Firſt, a right Education; and next, a removal of al Intereſt: For, ſince the Foundations of Religion are Eternal Truths, were Men rightly inſtructed, of which al are capable, becauſe al deſin'd for Happineſs, and Men got

nothing by lying; we ſhoud have as much Truth, and as little Diſputing in matters of Chriſtianity, as in the Mathematical ſciences: Or, at leaſt, if men defin'd nothing really but the tru Ends of it, Eternal Happineſs, it might be lawful for every Man, even in the way which another cals Hereſie, to worſhip the God of his Fathers; for, tho one thinks his a clearer or a ſhorter way, than that of another, ſo long as he ſtil goes on; that is, treads in the Paths of a ſober and virtuous Life; tho he may be more dabbl'd, or longer on the Road, what's that to him? He that finds fault, may miſs his own way, by looking towards his Brother; his particular Duty requires al his care: Beſides, *Every Man ſtands or fals to his own Maſter.* But you wil ſay, 'Tis Charity to teach my Brother, *and not to ſuffer ſin upon him:* 'Tis very tru; but firſt, 'tis not prov'd, that difference in Opinion is a ſin, but the contrary; next, Charity is not expreſs'd in Thunder and Lightning, ſending him head-long to the Devil, becauſe he wil not

not be presently, whether he can or no, of your Opinion; which, perhaps, is not truer than his own, tho your greater Confidence assert it: But Charity is expres'd by Meekness, Gentleness, and Love; by Instruction and Pity, not by Hatred and Revilings; nay, not by Death, the too often Consequence of Differences in Opinions: From which Considerations, 'tis plain, that 'tis not Reason nor Charity, that divides us; but Interest and Policy. How far it wil consist with the safety of the Public, to suffer such dangerous Causes of fatal Effects, as are brought in by these Clashes of Religionists, not Religion, I leave to the Wisdom of the Parliament: Only, to satisfy that part of your Question, I wil give you som short Account, how these Tares have so sprnng up, as to choak almost wholly, al the good Seed sown; afterwards, you may judg *if they may not now the Harvest is com, be cut down gather'd a-part, and thrown into the Fire.*

And surely if these Quarrels were only design'd for the Good of the Soul, (which yet if they were the Promoters, must be Men of wrong Understanding or Notions, *forgetting that Faith is the Gift of God*) they woud not hate and dam one another for different, tho false Opinions: Nothing can have that Effect, but the Committal of Sins; of which holy Scripture pronounces Death, the Wages, or necessary Consequence: but these we see past over silently, few Excommunicated for Whoredom, Adulteries, Atheism, and Profaness; many other Crimes are openly committed without Punishment, which (perhaps) was the end of instituting Eccleſiastical Courts.

The great design of Christianity, was in a higher and more refin'd way the same with that which *Hierocles* tels us of Philosophy, The *Perfection of human Life*: Therfore, the Primitive Christians knowing the end of their Doctrin was to make men good, to fil their Hearts with purity of intention productive of good Works, not to make them Wise (if

stuffing

ſtuffing their Heads with empty and idle Notions may be call'd ſo) avoided al ſuch with great care, preſſing only upon men the Reformation of their Lives, by the plaineſs of their Practiſe and their agreeableneſs to Reaſon; being wel aſſur'd, the contrary Precepts coud bring forth nothing, but endleſs Janglings, and frivolous Diſputes, which woud (at laſt) not only looſen, but deſtroy Religion, by taking away Charity, the Bond and Cement of that and al Perfections. But when the Piety of ſucceeding Ages had endowed the Church with Temporalities, and with rich Poſſeſſions, the Church-men altered their Doctrin, with their way of living; For now, (*kicking like the Calfs of* Jeſſeron *grown fat*) the former practiſed ſeverity was turn'd into Wantonneſs; The plaineſs of the Precepts, into intricat Niceties; This, they judged neceſſary; For, if according to the Promiſe, the Goſpel was to be ſo plain, *i. e.* ſo agreeable to Nature, and Reaſon, *that a Man might running ſee to*

Read, i. e. a Man that made never ſo little uſe of his Reaſon, that did but keep his Eyes open againſt the falſe Alurements of ſenſe, coud not but perceive the Lines of his Duty written in very larg and plain Characters: perceiving every Man thus enabled to Teach his Brother, and that Miracles were ceas'd, they found themſelves under a neceſſity to make *Godlineſs* a *Myſtery*, that it might becom *gain* to 'um in an il ſenſe, and that they might ſecure to themſelves that Veneration and Reſpect, which otherwiſe were now like to fail.

Religion, by this means degenerating from its innocence and ſimplicity, into a Trade of Policy and Subtilty, an Art to live by, Tent-makers and Fiſher-men became too dul and ignorant; The preaching of Chriſt Crucified was fit only for the Witty, and the Learned: No wonder then, that being now ſo much taken up in refining the Cobweb inventions of their Heads, they wanted leiſure to look to their Feet, *to order their ſteps aright*, and

and therfore went astray, not only from the Precepts of the Gospel, but the Imitation of the Life of the Holy *Jesus*, which was the greater Duty of the two; as the End, for which his Doctrin, the Means was given. And to make themselves the more admired, they mix'd *That* with the vain Philosophy of the *Greeks*, especially *Platonism*, with an Addition of many absur'd Heathenish, and obsolete *Jewish* Rites and Ceremonies. When the Bishops became Princes, the number of Candidats increasing faster than Preferments coud fal, the Ambitious were induc'd to Court them by indirect ways, The Pretence of an extraordinary Knowledg or Piety, to gain the Interest, and the Favor of great men, and by those steps to mount the Spiritual Throne of Carnal Pride. Thus when *Arius* faild of a Bishopric, enraged that a less learned man shoud deprive him of the Miter, he resolv'd upon a malicious Revenge; and to make himself more famous, then the Crosier coud, under pretence of discovering the falsi-

ties crept into Religion, he alleagd one of the great Myſteries to have more of *Platoes* Fancy, than of Chriſts Truth in it; This Mother-Hereſie by him introduc'd brought forth many others, and (which was the greater Evil) has been the parent of uncharitable Diſputes, The certain occaſions of much confuſion in Life and Doctrin, of Aſſaſſinations and Maſſacres, of Wars and Deſolations.

The Chriſtians now, contrary to Chriſts poſitive Command, *Cal no man on Earth Maſter*, i. e. *If an Angel from Heaven*, (much leſs, a man) *ſhoud Preach any other Doctrin* to you, than what I (your only Lord and Maſter) who am now aſcending thither injoyn you to obey, *viz*, *To love one another*, hearken not to him, for, he is a Murderer and a Lyar, a Cheat and an Impoſtor. Neglecting this, and having the Perſons of Men in Honor, they readily imbraced their Opinions; and changing the name of Chriſtians, took up that of the Fathers of their Sects, as of *Arians*, &c. Theſe Diviſions and Factions, and the conſequent

quent Bloody Wars woud perſwade us, that Chriſt came not indeed, *to ſend peace on Earth, but a Sword*; for, theſe Ring-leaders impoſed upon the credulous Multitude, that al thoſe ſuperinduced new Fangles, Diabolical Inventions, unreaſonable Whimſies, and childiſh Fopperies were the great Pillars and Truths of Religion; and therefore, *to be contended for unto Death*; While in the mean time, they themſelves were conſcious, that they diſputed not for Truth, but Victory, for the ſenſual Gratifications of Ambition and vain glory, of pride and Intereſt: and, if you wil but give your ſelf leiſure to look into the Controverſies of former Heretics, or into thoſe of later date, between the Reformed, and the Church of *Rome*, &c. you wil find them al on one and the ſame bottom. The Church of *Rome* has good Reaſon, as to this World, not to yield to any Truth in the point of Tranſubſtantiation; of which, certainly, 'tis enuff to believe ſimply Chriſt's own words, *This is my Body*, becauſe no more is warranted,

ted, and therefore not neceſſary, and that indeed none of the Expoſitions are free from unanſwerable Objections, tho none appear ſo oppoſit to ſenſe, and abſur'd, as that of the *Romaniſts* and *Lutherans*: For if this Power, of working Miracles be taken from the Prieſt, it may be thought he has nothing left to make him *Jure Divino*; which if allowed, he is quick enuff to foreſee that other Princes may follow the Example of *Henry the Eight*. Thoſe miſtaken, or wilful Apprehenſions have involved the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Europe*, in blood and confuſion, inteſtine Commotions, and Wars; and wil imbroil them yet further, if the Cauſes be not remov'd: This has long been the wiſhes of ſome, and the endeavors of others; but by the ſucceſs ſeeing the Diſeaſe is not cur'd, but that its venom does daily ſpred more and more, we may ſafely conclude, That Diſputing is as incompetent a way to reſettle the Truth of Religion, as the Sword is to propagate it. Every Man naturally hates to be accounted a Fool, or a

Lyar

Lyar; and therefore, when worſted by the force of Arguments, (which may be to him unanſwerable, tho not convincing), he fals into Heat and Paſſion, which the other returning with equal warmth, at length both loſe the Queſtion, and fal from Words to Blows, from Diſputing to Fighting; and not ſatisfy'd pedanticly (for moſt commonly the Contention is only about Words) to laſh one another, they further make Parties and Factions. Theſe hurried on with the Fury of a perverſe Zeal, the effect of Ignorance, eſpouſe the Quarrel, and purſu the Folly, and the Malice to the fatal Deſtruction of thouſands, of Millions; as if there was no getting to the Heavenly-*Canaan*, the New-*Jeruſalem*, but by wading, or rather by ſwimming thro the *Red-Sea* of Chriſtian Blood; while, in the meantime, the firſt Diſputants ſtand looking on, or like ſneaking Cowards ſteal away from the Rencounter as ſoon as they have ingag'd others more genrous, but withal more fooliſh than themſelves. This *England* has to its Coſt experimented,

and,

and, 'tis to be fear'd, if not timely prevented, wil agen.

Others, finding the way of Diſpute inſufficient, believed that the Allowance of a Toleration to the ſeveral contending Sects woud do the work; and that in truth, the denyal of it ſo far as it might conſiſt with the Peace of the Common-wealth, ſeem'd to be a kind of Perſecution not unequal to that of the Heathen Emperors in the beginning of Chriſtianity: This Opinion being by the Ring-Leaders infuſed into the Peoples Minds, who being apt to pitty al in diſtreſs, from Pitty are induced to Liking, and from liking to Love, they at length eſpouſe the Party, and with ſo much the more Violence, by how much the more it is oppos'd; nothing being more natural, than to reſiſt Force, and covet earneſtly thoſe things we are forbid. The Conſideration of this, and his own obſervation, that the more the Chriſtians were put to Death, the more they increaſed, made the wiſe *Pliny* write to the Emperor *Trajan*,

Trajan to forbear Perſecution; telling him, *That ſhedding Chriſtians Blood, was ſowing the Seed of the Church*; every Man's Death giving to the Multitude a ſufficient proof of the Truth of his Profeſſion, and gaining more Proſelites than Preaching coud. By the Emperor's following this good advice the Chriſtians gain'd their Liberty, and he an Acceſſion to his Army; and the great increaſe of Converts was thereby much reſtrained.

The ſenſe of this great Prudence joyn'd with his Majeſties great natural Clemency, has with good reaſon prevail'd upon his Miniſters rarely to execute the Severity of the Sanguinary and penal Laws upon Diſſenters; and I am wel aſſur'd, that did they not believe by thoſe Statutes remaining ſtil in force, That they are under Perſecution or the dread of it; inſtead of increaſing much within theſe few years, they woud certainly have decreaſed: I am therefore perſwaded, that Toleration with convenient Reſtrictions woud leſſen the Evil,

and

and remove moſt of its inconveniencies; tho al can never be taken away without another ſort of Education. And if the Parliament that give it, find it hereafter inconvenient, they may alter or annul it, how they pleaſe. In this Toleration al Opinions are to be provided againſt that are deſtructive of good Life, together with the conſequences rather than occaſions, Atheiſm and Irreligion. As the *Venetians* once excluded, ſo muſt we for ever prohibit the Jeſuits and other Regulars: The number of ſecular Prieſts, and Nonconforming Miniſters or Teachers are to be limited; They with their Flocks Regiſtred, and to be incapable of any Office in the Commonwealth, and the Teacher to be maintain'd by themſelves; The richeſt of the Congregations to be ſecurity for their Preachers, That they ſhal preach no Sedition, nor have privat Conventicles. That, beſides the State may ſend two to hear al taught; That the uſe of al Controverſial Catechiſmes,

and

and Polemical Diſcourſes as wel out as in the Pulpit under ſtrict Penalties be forbid: Such things, no leſs in their natures, than their names ſignifying and begetting Diſtractions, Rebellions, and Wars. Tho it be as impoſſible by Laws or Penalties to alter mens Opinions, from what either their Temper, or their Education has occaſion'd, as it is to change their Complections; Yet if men purſu'd nothing but Godlineſs and Honeſty, they woud find their Differences in Opinion, are no more hurtful than reſtrainable: And to make them leſs ſo, all names of hatred and diviſion are to be taken away, and the Parable of Chriſts ſeamleſs Coat to be really fulfil'd again. That al, whatever their ſingle Opinions be, be call'd by no other Name than that of Chriſtians, for indeed as ſuch they al agree, that is, in the Fundamentals of Religion; (as for the diſputed things they are already ſhewn not certain, therfore not neceſſary, conſequently (to us) impertinent which of the aſſertions be true,) and only differ by

by the considerations of Pride, or interest, as they are *Trinitarians* or *Antitrinitarians*, *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Papists* or *Protestants*, *Remonstrants* or *Antiremonstrants*, *Jansenists* or *Molinists*, *Franciscans* or *Dominicans*, *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*, *Presbyterians* or *Independants*, &c. But for my own part I am of opinion, That we shal never arrive at the tru state of Christianity either by Disputing without Toleration, or by Toleration with Disputing *i. e.* we shal not come to live *Righteously*, *Soberly*, and *Godly* in this present World: For, disputing destroys al, and Toleration alone wil not take away those wrong Notions, with which the present Age is prepossess'd; tho some of the *prejudices* may be lessen'd by softness and gentleness, by Love and Perswasions; this I confess wil not do in al, because al have not understanding, and such as want it must inevitably run into Error; For, whatever the Philsophers Dispute whether the Wil and the Understanding be distinct Faculties, or distinct Operations of the same Soul, it pain-

plainly appears in al our actions, that we wil or nil things according to our Underſtandings, which as wel or il inform'd make us do things good or evil; ſo that, til our Notions are rectifi'd, we are to be pityed and inſtructed, not hated or condemned. When by an excellent Education and a good Example we are taught not only to know, but to practiſe our Duty, it wil then be almoſt morally impoſſible for us to offend; wheras, on the contrary while both are now neglected, 'tis a wonder we are not worſe: Purſuant to this, *Salomon* gives a wiſe Direction, *Train up a Child in the way thou woud'ſt have him to go, and when he is old, he wil not depart from it.* The great Buſineſs, then, not only to aſſwage the pain, (which in the preſent Circumſtances cannot be don without Toleration) but wholly to remove the Diſtemper, is to introduce ſuch a fixt Method of Education, as may imprint on our Minds, true and early Notions of Virtu and Religion.

The Parliament have lately begun to

look into the Practice of Piety, and to prevent or leſſen Prophanation and Debaucheries have enacted, That Hackney-Coaches (it had bin more equal if al had bin under the Penalty,) ſhal after the *Jewiſh* manner of Sabbath, reſt from Labor: I wiſh, they woud now be pleaſed, to take care the People keep the Chriſtian-Sabbath as they ought; Not ſo much in a Reſt from bodily Labor, as from Sin, the greater toyl of the Soul; to which, they are oblig'd by every days Duty; The uſe of the *Seventh*, above the reſt, ſeeming to be ſet apart for returning Thanks for Bleſſings, and for Exhortations effective of Holineſs and a good Life: The Duty of that day is not fulfil'd, by hearing a quaint-Man preach himſelf, not Chriſt; Policy, not Morality; confute the *Pope*, the *Calviniſt*, or the *Arminian*, the *Presbyterian* or the *Epiſcopal*—— Such Diſcourſes engender nothing but Strife, and tend not to Edification; they are the vain Traditions of Men, in which we ſhoud quicly find, did we but ſeriouſly conſider, that there

was

was nothing of that *Faith*, without which we cannot pleaſe, nor of that *Holyneſs*, without which *no man ſhal ſee God:*

And, ſince the Parliament by that laſt mention'd Act, have begun to *tythe Mint* and *Commin*; tis to be hoped, they wil go on, and not leave the *weightier things of the Law undon*; that their Wiſdoms and their Zeal wil be more imploy'd about the *Power, than the form of Godlineſs*, which may for ever be eſtabliſht by the following Method, or ſuch other as they ſhal think more agreeable, *viz.* To make new Diviſions of Pariſhes, which may with more convenience to the People be don, than as at preſent they ſtand, by limiting every Pariſh to the compaſs of about three Miles Square, and building a Church in the central-place, to hold about a thouſand; and to apportion the Pariſhes in Cities at leaſt to the like number of People: This wil reduce the Pariſhes from about ten to a little more than four Thouſand. To erect Schools in every Pariſh, where al the Children ſhal be

instructed, in Reading, Writing, and the first Elements of Arithmetic and Geometry without charge to the Parents: Whence to the greater Schools, to be erected in the Dioceses, Counties, or Hundreds, after the manner of *westminster*, *Eaton*, or *winchester*, so many of the ripest and best Capacitated as shal suffice for the supply of al Callings that make Learning a Trade (as Divinity, Physic, and Law) may be yearly elected, to be train'd up in the further necessary Parts of Learning, and from thence yearly sent to the Universities; from the Universities upon al vacancies, Schoolmasters and Ministers to be chosen; the first, not under five and twenty years; the later, not under Thirty (the age allow'd among the *Jews* for Doctors or Teachers, and at which our Savior began to Preach); and both, to be Masters of Art, before the one be Licensed, or the other Ordain'd by the Bishop; and none to be Ordain'd, before they are secur'd of being Noble Mens Chaplains, or elected to Parishes. That the Bishopries

be

be alſo divided according to Convenience and the number of Pariſhes; That the Miniſters and School-maſters be Celibats, not under a vow (as in the Church of *Rome*) but on condition of quitting their Benefices upon Marriage, and returning to a Lay-life; For, that of the prieſts being *jure Divino* being diſputed, is therefore (to ſay no more) to our Salvation not neceſſary to be believed; For, unleſs they demonſtrat the contrary by Scripture, the ſufficient Rule of Faith, or by Miracles, men wil be apt to believe the Story of an *indelible Character*, to be a *Relic* of *Popery*, invented to aggrandize the Honor and Power of the Church, turn'd into a Court of *Rome*; But be it what it wil, 'tis plain they can't be greater than St *Paul*, who did not only for Convenience of the Church, *avoid leading about a Wife, or a Siſter*, but wrought at his Trade after he had Received the Holy-Ghoſt; of which it were to be wiſht all Divines ſhew'd themſelves poſſeſt, by a Life conformable to that of the Holy *Jeſus*. But without doubt there wil be enuff found to undertake this calling,

on theſe terms, tho ſeemingly difficult. By this courſe, there is a proviſion made for the Incontinency of ſuch of the Prieſts as find themſelves Fleſh and Blood; which if don in the Church of *Rome*, woud free it from great Scandal.

That a book of Homilies be compil'd; for varietie four for every *Sunday*, and two for each feſtival or holy day. That nothing be inſerted, but Dehortations from Vice and Exhortations to Virtu, neither Controverſies nor State Affairs ſo much as oblicly glanc'd upon. That a Catechiſm adapted to the meaneſt Capacity be compoſed, ſhewing the Duty of Chriſtians according to the expreſs Words of the Text of Scripture, without ſtraining or miſapplying any one, (as is don in two many of thoſe now extant), and without touching upon any one diſputed point. That, al the Books of Controverſial Divinity, as wel thoſe in privat hands, as in Bookſellers, be bought up by the State, and plac'd in the Kings-Library, or burnt. That, al the Commentaries

mentaries on the Bible be reviewed by ſober, moderate and learned Men; and as many of them as contain more than what directly tends to the Illuſtration of the Text, by recounting the Language, Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of the Times and places it was writ in, follow the fate of the others. And becauſe it is reaſonable to believe, There is no ſuch intire Work extant, in imitation of the *Septuagint* Tranſlation, there may be ſeventy appointed for this to be in Latin, and for the Homilies and Catechiſm in *Engliſh*: which being don, let al the preſent Expoſitions be ſent to the Library, or the Fire. That the ſame Perſons or others be ordered to pick out of the Scripture al ſuch Paſſages as tend to the encouragement of a Holy Life, and to put them into one piece in *Engliſh* for common uſe.

I have heard ſom ſober Men wiſh, that *Engliſh* Bibles were not ſo common, that the *ignorant* and *unwary* might not *wreſt* the hard texts to *their own deſtruction*, nor to that of the Public Peace: But you

know, I have often told you, I look'd upon the variety of Tranſlations out of the Original into the vulgar Languages, as the beſt Comment.

Theſe things being don, To take the Printing of Books into the ſtate; it is as neceſſary as the Mint; falſe Coynage of Books has don *England* more miſchief, than ever that of Mony did, or wil do; The Licenſing of Printing, or importing from beyond-Sea, wil not otherwiſe prevent great Evil to Church and State. That there be but a convenient number of book-ſellers permitted; Thoſe to be under obligation, to vend no other books, then ſuch as are Printed in this allow'd Printing-Houſe, where forrein books with advantage to the Public may be reprinted. The hindering forrein Coyn from being current, is not ſo uſeful and advantageous, as the care in this wil prove, to the Kingdom.

When Things are thus far ſettled, the Biſhops (who are not to be choſen under forty) are to ſee, that al Miniſters, School-maſters and Church-wardens, do their reſpective Duties; going about, and viſiting

viſiting Pariſh by Pariſh, as was the Antient Practice, Confirming, after Examination, and exhorting al to continu obedient to the Laws of God and Man; reprehending and ſuſpending ſuch as they find faulty without favor or affection, the Miniſters and School-Maſters, from Office and benifice; the people from the Sacraments (which is every where monthly at leaſt to be Adminiſtred) til after Repentance expreſs'd in the reformation of their Lives.

As for the Juriſdiction of Eccleſiaſtical Courts, becauſe it is a kind of *imperium in imperio*, and that thro the greatneſs of the Biſhops other Charge, they cannot officiat in this, to take away and prevent abuſes it is to be laid aſide; and other, or the ſame Puniſhments for the crimes there uſually tryable, inflicted in the ordinary Courts, upon the Biſhops, or the Miniſter and Church-Wardens Certificate of the Matter of Fact; in whom alone the Power of Examination ſhoud reſide: And, becauſe the office of Biſhops, Miniſters, and School-maſters

fters wil be of great Labor, none ſhoud continu in them beyond Sixty, nor ſo long unleſs they are found fitting: After that Age, al of'um to have a handſom decent Retreat in Colleges purpoſely built; where the ſuperannuated of each province, the *emeriti* in the Chriſtian warfare, may ſpend the Remnant of their days without Care, in quiet and Devotion.

To aſſiſt and eaſe the Biſhop, there ſhou'd be, as formerly, Rural Deans over every ten or twenty Pariſhes. Part of the Miniſters Buſineſs ſhou'd be to inſtruct the Boys every *Saturday* in the Schools, in al the Duties of Religion; To Catechize and read the Prayers and Homilies on *Sundays* in public; The reſt of the Week, between the times of Prayer to be celebrated twice a-day, to go from Houſe to Houſe, exhorting and dehorting, as occaſion requires, viſiting the Sick, and examining the Needs of the Poor, reconciling Differences between the Neighbors, and taking care, that in every Family the Children, ſuch as are found fit, by the Electors appointed, not by

by the Parents blind Fondneſs, be conſtantly ſent to School.

After the continued Practice of this courſe, Chriſtianity wil again flouriſh; The years of the Miniſter wil make him ſober and grave, fit to give Counſel, which from young Men is now deſpis'd. There wil then be no need of ſpending time in writing Controverſies, or ſtudying Sermons, which as now Preach'd are rarely underſtandable or uſeful to the People; of whom it may be ſaid, the one is always teaching to no purpoſe, and the other *ever learning, and never coming to the Knowledg of the Truth.*

The School-maſters are not only to be learned, but ſober and diſcreet Men; to be oblig'd never to whip, or beat the Boys; whoſe Faults are to be puniſhed by Exerciſes, by ſtanding mute or kneeling for certain ſpaces, or by faſting from their Victuals, *&c.* Thoſe that are good, to be incouraged by Priority of Places, by commendatory Verſes made by the higher Forms, *&c.* The Boys

Boyes that need heating, are as unfit to be taught, as the Man is to teach who uſes that tyrannical way, which too much debaſes the Meek-ſpirited, and makes the Sullen more ſtubborn and ilnatur'd. That whatever any Perſons beſtow on the Maſters be converted to publick Charitable Uſes. The Method of Teaching to be drawn up by ſom of the Members, (who, 'tis preſum'd, wil mix Things with Words) and approv'd by the whole Royal Society; that confirm'd and al others prohibited by Law.

That in the Univerſities, none be ſuffer'd to continu beyond the Age of forty-five, nor above two in any one Houſe or Colledg after thirty-five. That a new Method be likewiſe fram'd by the ſame Perſons for al the Liberal Arts and Sciences; and that new Academies be built for training up young Noblemen and Gentlemen in thoſe Exerciſes, which to the ſhame and loſs of *England* are now learnt in *France*.

That

That handſom and ſufficient Salaries be fixt, and paid out of the public Revenu, according to every Mans Quality: Biſhops equal to one another, Deans to Deans, Miniſters and School-maſters to each other: and theſe to be choſen gradually, as the pure Conſideration of Merit ſhall invite the Electors. And to inable the Public as wel in paying theſe Salaries, as in building of Schools, Churches, Colledges and Hoſpitals, the whole Revenues of the Church, Free-Schools, Univerſities, and Hoſpitals ſhoud at the higheſt valu be annex'd to the Crown, or ſould to others that wil give more; The Overplus ſav'd by this new Model, and the Mony they woud yield beyond any other Land of *England*, in regard the Annual Rent is not a Fourth of the real Valu, and yet may be ordered equally advantageous to the Tenants, as the Fines now make them, woud complete this Work. Thus converting the Patrimony of the Church woud be no Sacriledg, the Pious Uſe is carryed on to the good of All; and perhaps as firſt deſin'd by

by the Donors, when Proviſion for Wives and Children, not in being, coud not be thought of; the Care of whom diſtract many from their Duty, and diſ-able them from keeping in decent Repair the antient Monuments of Piety built by our Anceſtors. But all theſe things to be don, without the leaſt prejudice to the preſent Incumbents.

When Education is thus ſetled, the Duty and Intereſt of Church-men, and their Care of Wives and Children removed, Plurality of Livings, and Simony prevented, as wel that of Friendſhip, of the Smock, marrying of Couſens Neeces, crooked Siſters, or Ladie's Women, as that of the Purſe; al which in themſelves are equally Criminous, none but good Men wil undertake the Charge: And then the Objections wil vaniſh which looſe Education has infuſed into the wild and fooliſh, *viz.* That *Religion is a Cheat, a tric of State; that the Parſon follows Chriſt for the Loaves; ſpeaks as does the Lawyer in his Trade, not that there's any Truth in't, but be-*

cauſe

cauſe he has bos in lingua, &c. To do this, is neither ſo ſtrange, nor ſo difficult, as was the greater alteration made by *Henry the Eighth*; who had not in ſtory bin ſo infamous tho he had ſeized on the whole temporalities of the Church, had he but thus diſpoſed of ſom part. And by the way you may take notice, that the houſe of *Commons* in this point had been *Cromwels* in the ſixth and eleventh Years of *Henry the Fourth*, who upon their advice had ſeized the Churches Patrimony, had they not by friends and mony prevented the blow; and that *de facto*, ſeveral Biſhoprics and livings were injoy'd by ſom of his predeceſſors, which appears not onely from Hiſtory, but from printed Acts of Parliament.

That it wil be no hard Matter, from *Graunts* Obſervations, and the *Bils of Mortality*, to make a Computation of the *Numbers* neceſſary to be ſent Yearly to the *Univerſities*, for *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Phyſic*: The laſt of which ought ſo to be regulated, as not to ſuffer any to Kil (rather than Cure,) which is daily

don

don in *London*, and other parts of the Kingdom, to the prejudice and ſcandal of that honorable and ſomtimes uſeful Profeſſion, to the loſs of the peoples Mony and Lives, to the maintaining of many idle, and ignorant Mountebancs, and impoſtors, who to the greater advantage of the Common-wealth, might be employed, in more ſafe and beneficial Trades or ways of Living.

This Courſe wil alſo prevent ſuch evil conſequences in Church and State, as formerly attended the *Superfetations* of the *Clergy*, and the breeding up of *Servitors* and *poor Scholars* (as they wel cal them) in the Univerſities; who being generally of mean Birth, and no leſs mean Parts, and the attendance upon their Maſters not ſuffering them ſo wel to attend their Studies; and their ſubſiſtance by Service failing them after they had ſtaied at the Univerſity, no longer than to incapacitat and unfit them for any other way of Living, and yet not to qualify them for turning Preachers, However, having *chopt* a little *Logic*,

Logic and disputed of *Ens Rationis*, and so fancying they coud *Build Castles in the Aire*, they assume the confidence to conclude, they cannot Miss of Habitations on the earth, and so from the *Lowest of the People*, getting to be *put into the Priests Office for a peece of Bread*, they becom a great cause of, as wel as they are in Effect, *The contempt of the Clergy*. And those for want of Knowledg, lay their foundations in *Erroneous Doctrines*, in which Nevertheless they coud not succeed, but by pretending an extraordinary mesure of *Saint-ship* or Holiness, Railing at the sins and abuses of the times, which themselves have occasion'd. Thus they *creep into houses*, and first lead silly Women, and then their Husbands *Captive*, as *Adam* by *Eves* perswasion eating the *forbidden fruit* til he Surfited and died, so these ignorant Zelots not content in *King James* his time and the beginning of *King Charles* the first, to rob the Kingdom of many Families, til at last, they made themselves the *bonteseus* of the late horrid Rebel-

lion; which tho it may be ſaid, to have been principally occaſion'd, by ſuch as theſe, yet not without ſom *Epiſcopal mens* having a *Finger in the Pie:* For, to ſay truth, I know not whether the too great *Stifneſs* in the one, for their *Old*, or in the other, againſt *thoſe Formes*, was moſt blameable. But This I know that by the Colliſion of both parties, as of Flints, a Fire was kindled not unlike that in the *Tayles of Samſons Foxes*, which proved as Deſtructive of the Expectations of profit each had of their own crop, as the other did to the *Philiſtines* corn; Yet had the evil of that, not extended to any others, but thoſe of the Pulpit, we might now have talk'd on't without much regret. What ever ſuch violent diſputes, have formerly been able to do, 'tis my duty to wiſh, and Yours to endeavor, that England be no more the Stage of ſuch Tragedies. *Refraine not Counſel when it may do good*, and be not backward in adviſing that *Toleration* is the *Firſt ſtep*, and *Education* the *next* that perfectly leads the way to peace

peace and happineſs. This Cours being taken, we ſhal have no cauſe to diſpair, but that Religion wil again reſume its *Naked Truth*, That the Doctrines of men wil be judged better or worſe, as they more or leſs incline to holineſs of living; and thus being reduced to a Calmneſs within our ſelves, we need not fear the *Deſignes of Forrainers*.

The Intereſt of England, *in reference to* France

Of whom none, but *France*, can be ſuppoſed to have any upon *England*; and if that be granted, why may it not be prevented, by obſerving ſtil the ſame Rules of Policy, which this Crown formerly practiſed; that was, ſo holding the Ballance between the then two contending Powers of *Spain* and *France*, that neither ſhoud be able to obtain their Aims, The univerſal Monarchy of the *weſt*? But now the Caſe is alter'd, in that *Spain* being much weakned by the acceſſion of the *weſt-Indies*, and graſping more than it coud wel hold in other Countries, has quitted the Field, and left *France*

without a Rival: So that the preſent Intereſt of *England* ſeems to be the ſame with that of al *Europe*, *viz.* to oppoſe by al poſſible means the growing Greatneſs of *France*; and reduce that Crown to ſuch a condition, as may not leave it in his Power to hurt his Neighbors. By what they have already compaſſed, one may gueſs they wil ere long bring about, if not timely ſtopt, their long deſign'd Ambitious Purpoſes: In the proſecution of which, they were in the late times of Uſurpation, the under-hand Inſtrument of the War with *Holland*, as they were of the two following, in *ſixty-five* and *ſeventy-one*, blowing up the Feuds on both ſides, pretending to take part with each, but not really purpoſing it with either. Having the ſame Deſine of weakning both Parties, as the *Brittains* formerly had, in throwing a Bone of Contention between the *Picts* and *Scots*, that they might in the end be the better able to overcom both; In the mean time the *French* King gain'd an opportunity of building Ships of War,

and

and training up Seamen, of which he was before deſtitute; ſo that had not theſe Quarrels, and our late Civil Wars given him a pretence of increaſing his Maritin Power, we might ſtil, even by threats of burning the Ships upon the Stocks, or in the Harbors, as did Queen *Elizabeth*, have kept that People under, and our ſelves from fear: But ſince by unavoidable Accidents, the Dice are ſo thrown, as that the *Fore* is loſt, let's uſe the beſt of our art and skill, to retreive an *After*-Game. There is no need to attempt the proof of what is as evident as the Sun at Noon-day, That the *French* King has a Power great enuff, conſidering the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, to make him hope, and al others dread his effecting that old Deſine, which has bin the end of al Actions of that Crown for many years paſt; which before he coud put in Execution, his great Obſtacle and Rival the *Spaniard* was to be removed out of the way; in order to which he judg'd neceſſary to fortify himſelf with ſome Allyes, and engage

others Newters; But foreſeeing it was the intereſt of *England* and *Holland* to oppoſe the one and aſſiſt the other, and therfore deſpairing to prevail upon either, he contriv'd to make both fall out; not long after he took the advantage of unexpectedly invading the Spaniſh *Netherlands*, even while his Agent then in *Spain* was perſwading that Crown of his Maſters good intentions to continue in intire Peace and Amity with them. The conſequence of which we wiſely foreſeeing, occaſion'd our ſetting on Foot the Tripple League in the year 1668. by which a ſtop was put to his further Progreſs.

And now perceiving himſelf diſapointed, he makes various Attempts in the Years 1669 and 1670, to invite *England* to break that Alliance; But finding his *fineneſs* Vain, he oblicly endeavors it, by renewing the old, and inventing new grounds of Quarrels, by ſuch Agents and Penſioners in the State of *Holland*, as his wealth had purchas'd; which at laſt made them commit ſuch inſolence, againſt the Honor

of

of this Crown, and the Intereſt of the People in point of Trade, as brought upon 'um the laſt fatal War, into which he no ſooner drew the *Hollanders*, than he ruſh'd into the very Heart of their Country. This ſudden event made them confeſs their Error, and our King the ſooner to conclude a Peace. The Parliament was then and ſince very deſirous His Majeſty ſhoud ingage with the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* againſt *France*; and without doubt he knew it woud be his intereſt ſo to do; but not at that time; For tho the undoubted Prerogative of the Kings of *England* intitle them to make War and Peace, he did not wave the former, becauſe the Parliament urged it, as the malicious ſuggeſt, but becauſe he ſaw it not convenient. 'Tis tru the Kings of *England* have bin pleas'd, to adviſe in ſuch matters with their Parliaments; But that was an Act of Grace, and condeſcenſion, and ought not now (if at al) to be inſiſted on, ſo as to deny the King that liberty, which as a Man he cannot want, that of exami-

ning and approving or disapproving what his great Council shoud advise? For no man in his Wits wil dream, the Lords and Commons have a power of imposing what they please upon the King, when without his Assent, they have neither Power nor Right to make any Act. The King considered, That Peace is the happiness of a Kingdom; That War being a real evil, is never to be undertaken, but to avoid a greater; That his Treasures were exhausted by the War just finisht; That his People had not recover'd their losses, by the Plague, Fire, and Wars, and therfore were unable to bear the Burden of heavy Taxes, which of necessity must have bin imposed, to carry on a new one; for which great preparations ought to be made, both of Men, Mony and Shipping; the former were no less wanting, than the last much impaired and diminish't. He consider'd, That the French King had not only bin amassing great Treasure for many, but had also bin three years training up an Army in al the Disciplines

of

of War, That it was neceſſary, before one King entred into a War, to compare his own and the others ſtrength, *whether with Ten he were able to meet him with Twenty Thouſand:* That he ought to make Alliances, and to have cautionary Towns, before we declared our ſelves Enemies; That ſo great a deſine was not to be made public, before things were Ripe, leaſt the *Dutch* and *French* might clap up a Peace, and that potent King turn againſt us the fury of his Arms, for whom certainly in thoſe circumſtances, we ſhoud have bin a very unequal match. I am perſwaded, That theſe, with other much wiſer conſiderations not obvious to every man, convinced the King A War was on no ſcore at that time ſeaſonable: And to this Opinion I am mov'd, by my ſenſe, That the King coud not but reflect, That when the French King had ſubjected al the reſt of *Europe*, he woud not fail to ad *England* to his Conqueſts, in which our Kings loſſe muſt needs be greater than his Subjects; For it is unreaſonable

reaſonable to think, that tru Policy woud let the French King ſuffer any of the Royal Family, eſpecially the King of *England* and *France* (at whoſe Title and Arms-bearing he is not a little offended) to outlive the loſs of the Crown; ſince he coud not but believe, they woud be perpetually endeavouring, the regaining their own Right: For tho ſubjection be unequal to al, 'tis not ſo intolerable to any, as to thoſe us'd to govern: And therfore tis an idle and and ſenſeleſs inconſiderat fancy, to imagin the King and Duke coud forget their own Intereſt, or be Frenchifi'd upon any promiſe or bargain, as is maliciouſly inſinuated, that they might be more abſolute, which can't poſſibly be in their thoughts or wiſhes. Who know that, between Kings or States, Covenants are binding no longer than convenient; that the *French* King has ever ſhewn, that his Intereſt only or his Wil is the Rule of convenience. That he that makes War for his *Glory*, has more ambition to put his Chains upon Princes, than

than on the People: his thoughts are as large as any of the Roman Emperors, and they esteemd it a greater Glory to lead one King in Triumph, than many thousands Subjects of several Kingdoms. And it is not to be suppos'd that the natural strength and situation of *England*, can be a sufficient Defence against the Power of *France*, when to that he has already, is added that of all the rest of *Europe*, unless you can dream they may have a Fleet greater than all, and may at once resist, by those Walls, the Invasion of others, and defend their Merchant-men at Sea; which if not don, without an Invasion, by spoiling the Trade, *England* will be destroy'd, or which is altogether as bad, be render'd very poor and inconsiderable. And that this has bin his Majestyes sense, may be gues'd by the Progress he has made since the War, mediating a Peace as best became a good King, and giveing his Subjects an opportunity of enriching themselves, and inabling them to bear the necessary *Taxes*, by ingrossing most of

of the Trade of *Europe*, and at length finding his endeavours ineffective, he prepar'd himself to resist the *French* designes by force, by providing a Fleet, and knowing that he that fights with another must have skil at the same Weapons, he suffer'd such of his Subjects as were willing (but on capitulations to return when he pleased) to serve either the *Confederates* or the *French*, not only to be fitted to lead others, but also to understand the new Arts of fighting, which are greatly alter'd from what they were in former times. The King having thus prepared things, I hear he is so far from being backward to declare War with *France*, that he wil gladly do it, if his Parliament wil but find out a sufficient means for carrying it on effectually: which I apprehend must not be ordinary, for that the War, if undertaken, is like to be of long continuance,

And you wil guess that 'tis no longer to be delay'd, if you wil but bring before your Eyes the danger we and all *Europe* are expos'd to, by comparing the pre-

preſent Power of *France* with what it was in the Days of *Francis the Firſt*, and obſerving what he was then able to do, when aſſaulted by *Charles the Fifth*, who was not only Emperor, but had all the Power of *Spain*, the *Seventeen Provinces*, of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the *Dukedom* of *Milan*, and the Riches of the *Weſt-Indies*, who was as Wiſe, Couragious, and Fortunat a Captain, as moſt Ages of the World have known; one who manag'd his own Councils, & like *Alexander* in every Action appear'd at the Head of his Army; who had above a hundred Thouſand wel diſciplin'd Men, led by many great and experienc'd Commanders; who was able, by a mighty Naval Power, to begirt *France* on both ſides, from *Flanders* and from *Spain*. Yet at that time *France* Courting the ſame *Miſtriſs*, the *univerſal Monarchy*, was ſo powerful a *Rival*, that he durſt not attempt his removal out of the way of his Ambition, without the aid and aſſiſtance of *Henry the Eighth*, the *Pope*, and ſeveral Princes of *Italy*; nor even then

then did he think himſelf ſecure, til he had drawn to a defection, *Charles Duke* of *Bourbon*, the moſt conſiderable *Prince* of *France*. And yet after all, he was forc'd to clap up an Accommodation, on Terms ſufficiently advantageous to that Crown.

If ſo mighty a Power, and ſo united, coud not prevail againſt *Francis the Firſt*, How unlikly is it to reſiſt *Lewis the Fourteenth*, a much greater Prince, when that Power is now ſo much leſſen'd, by being broken and divided into ſeveral Hands? When the Emperor gives himſelf up more to Devotion, than *Martial* or *State*-Affairs? When the King of *Spain* is a Youth of Sixteen, and when the *Seventeen Provinces* are canton'd between the *Spaniard* and the *States General*? When theſe ſeveral Diviſions and Intereſts occaſion long Debates, different Opinions, and ſlowneſs in Preparation and Action? When all that was formerly manag'd by one ſingle Head, is by theſe Accidents brought under the Conduct of ſeveral Governors, of whom, it's poſſible, ſom may prefer their privat Advan-

Advantages to the Interests of their Masters? This has made som Conjecture, the *French* King has open'd more Gates with Silver Keys, than by Force of Arms; and has induc'd others to conclude, That the *Confederates* wil hardly be able to defend the Remainder of the *Spanish Netherlands*, another Campagne, if not assisted by the joynt Power of the rest of *Europe*: This you wil easily believe, not to be ill grounded, if you consider the present Greatness of *France*; *Lewis* has about four times the Revenu *Francis* had, and at least four times the Army: Nay rather, all his People are now in a manner Souldiers; 'Tis not only scandalous, but a vain attempt, for any Gentleman there to make Court for a Wife, before he has serv'd a Campaign or two, nor are any of the *Nobless* sufferd to live at ease in the Country, that do not go, or send som of their Sons to the War. These practises enabl'd him last summer, in fifteen days to send forty-five Thousand Gentlemen, with their Servants, at their own Charge to raise the

Seige

Siege of *Charleroy*. And to make the Monarchy more absolute, Matters have bin so order'd, that their Parliaments are become ordinary Courts of Justice, and have no other Laws than the Edicts of the Prince's wil; And if at any time, he condescends in Formality to assemble the three Estates (who had in *Francis the First*'s time the Power of Parliaments) 'tis but to tel them by his *Chancellor*, the King Wils you do thus or thus, you are not to advise or dispute, but immediatly ratify his Commands, which accordingly are obey'd, as the Effects of a Despotic Power.

In the beginning of the Year 1665, he was not able to man out twenty Ships of War, and now he has about two hundred; He has not only vast Treasures heaped together, but the Strings of all the Purses of his *Slaves* rather than Subjects in his own hands. If without any Assistance he has already gain'd *Lorrain*, *Franche Comte*, a great part of *Flanders*, and no inconsiderable Footing in *Germany* and *Sicily*, and in the beginning

ginning of the laſt Campaigne three ſuch ſtrong Holds, as *Valenciennes*, St. *Omer*, and *Cambray*; the weakeſt of which, moſt men thought, woud at leaſt have made him whole a Summers work, what wil he not be able to compaſs, againſt the reſt of *Europe*, when he has got the acceſſion of *Germany*, and all the *Low-countryes*, to that already too boundleſs Power by which he has fetter'd his own People, and ſubjected them to an abſolute Vaſſalage? Wil other Nations expect better Terms, than he has given his own? 'Tis wel if he wil allow them even *Canvas* and *Sabows*. But above all, what can *England* hope, having for many years forc'd him to check the *Reins* of his Ambition, and is, I preſume at this time ready to put on the *Caveſon*. Books have already bin printed ſhewing his pretentions to this Country, which, tho weak and ſilly, may help to ſpur him on in the purſuit of his Glory. Nor can leſs be expected from thoſe, who by a Confederacy with the late Uſurpers, gave an opportunity of taking away the Life of

the first *Charles*, and of pursuing that of the *Second*, to whom his own Cousin German unhospitably deny'd the continuance of a retreat, when the vicissitudes of human affairs, to make him afterwards appear more glorious, vail'd him in Clouds of misfortunes. What can be hop'd from him who contriv'd that never to be forgotten affront of burning our ships at *Chattam*, and who is said to have had no final hand in the firing of *London*: Who tho stil'd the most Christian, declares as an unalterable Maxim, no Treaty binding longer than it consists with his Interest, not founded on Religion, or Reason, but on *Glory*? The very Heathens were anciently, and the *Turks* at this day are more punctual to their Oaths and Promises, The falsifying of any thing confirm'd by the Adiuration of their Gods, or *Mahomet*, was, and is accounted infamous. But what Treaties, or Capitulations can be reckon'd which the *French* Ministers have not violated? Have they not broken the famous *Pyrenean Treaty*, confirmd by

by Oaths and Sacraments? And contrary to a ſolemn Renunciation and the double Ties of Blood and Marriage, before a breach complain'd of, or a War declar'd, invaded the Territoryes of an Infant King? Have not they by addreſs, and Cunning, by Bribes and Rewards, endeavored to corrupt moſt of the Miniſters of *Europe*? Such practiſes amongſt privat Chriſtians woud be abominable, and much more ſo, between any Kings not ſtil'd the moſt Chriſtian. Do they not publicly abet the proceedings of the Rebels in *Hungary* againſt their lawful Prince? And whatever the Pope may be induc'd to beleive, not for the Propagation of the Romiſh Religion (for they are Proteſtants) but to ſerve his own ambitious purpoſes of enſlaving the World; of which, rather than fail, he has decreed to bring in the *Turk*, in whoſe Courts alſo he has found Arts to make his Coyn current. Nor is the *Infallible* Man whom he has already *Pillard* to ſcape him, at leaſt as to the Temporal part of his Power, for

not thinking that affront great enuff, and concluding, he has not as he ought, imploy'd it for the *French* Intereſt, he is ſaid to have privatly vow'd not only the leſſening, but the abrogating of that great Authority, in which his Predeceſſors *Pepin* and *Charlemain's* Charity had veſted him. Nor is his Countenanceing the *Janſeniſts*, a Sect more dangerous to the See of *Rome*, than that of *Luther* or *Calvin*, a ſmal Argument, that he intends to pul down his ſpiritual Grandeur, by fixing it in a *Gallican* Patriarch. But to com nearer home, have not the *French* had a main hand in our Civil Wars, and were they not ſince the ſecret Inſtruments of ſpilling the Blood of many thouſands of our fellow Subjects? To ſom of whom, tho now they pretend civility, 'tis not to give them a ſhare in their Glory, ſo much as to hazard their Lives, making them ſteps to the Throne of an unjuſt Empire; in order to which, they have expos'd them on all occaſions, in hopes by weakning us, to remove out of their way

way the greateſt block which has already given them *check*, and wil now I hope ſtop their Carreir and *mate* them. And is it not time think you, that all the Princes in Chriſtendom, for their common ſafety, ſhoud unite, not only to Chaſe the *French* King out of his new Conqueſts, but confine him to his ancient Dominion and manner of Government? If this be not ſpeedily put in Execution, I may without the ſpirit of Prophecy foretel, ſom of the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy* who now ſeem unconcern'd, wil when 'tis too late repent the overſight: The fire is already kindled in their Neighborhood, and if they do not help to quench the flame, they wil quicly ſee their own dwellings laid in Duſt and Aſhes. Every new acquiſt and acceſſion of Power inlarges our deſires, and makes the ambitious man think, that which before ſeem'd not only difficult, but impoſſible, to be very plain and feaſible; The ſucceſs of the *French* has already made them think no enterpriſe too hard, and

and ſtil prompts them to puſh on their good Fortune, which nothing can withſtand but a general oppoſition of other Princes.

You ſee then, 'tis not ſo much honor nor friendſhip, nor a deſire of ſuccorring the injur'd and oppreſſed, that invites the reſt of *Europe*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Netherlands*, but the care and preſervation of their *Laws* and *Liberties*, their *Glory*, and their *Fortunes*: And tho I am apt to believe on *Englands* entring into the League, the *French* King woud gladly conclude a Peace: Yet I can't but think the doing ſo, woud be againſt the common intereſt, on any other Terms, than quitting all his new Acquiſitions, and even then the *Confederats* wil be out in Policy, if they do not ſtil continue in a poſture of defence, both by Sea and Land. The *Dutch* paid dear for the contrary practiſe, and their ſufferings in 1672 wil convince them and others, that ſo long as *Lewis* the *fourteenth* lives, his Neighbors muſt not expect to ſleep in quiet; they cannot prudently hope, his

his future Practiſes wil be more juſt, than his former; he that has already broke thro ſo many Obligations of Oaths and Treatyes, is likely to do ſo agen; whoever cannot be kept within bounds by the ſenſe of Reaſon and Juſtice, wil deſpiſe the weaker tyes of forced Oaths; For he that avows Power to be the Rule, and *ſtrength the Law of Juſtice*, wil not ſtick to ſay, This Peace was an impoſition, an unjuſt reſtraint of the lawful purſuit of his *Greatneſs*. And therefore as ſoon as he gives his wearyed Armies a breathing time, and ſees the Confederates diſpers'd, and their Troops diſbanded, he wil like an unexpected *Torrent* break-in upon ſom of his Neighbors. The Common Inſcription of his Cannons *Ratio ultima Regum*, is by him inverted to a contrary ſenſe, and made a public Warning to Mankind, that he deſines, as God did of old, to give Law to the World in Thunder and Lightening, to ſcatter by the Flames of his Artillery al thoſe Clouds of the Confederat Forces that intercept and eclipſe the

Rayes of his *Glory*. He makes the Power of his Arms his *first and last Reason*: He do's not only purſu, but commonly wounds his Adverſary before he declares him ſuch, or gives him leiſure to *draw*. Firſt invades a Prince's Territories, and after ſets up his Title and Cauſe of the War; is not concern'd that all the World obſerves the Pretence is falſe and trifling, vain and unjuſt, warranted by no other Reaſon than that of *abſolute and unbounded Wil, That he wil do ſo, becauſe he wil*; which is the Foundation and Concluſion of all his Actions and Wars abroad, as wel as of his Laws and Edicts at Home, expreſs'd in theſe imperious Words, *Tel eſt noſtre plaiſir*. He do's not only tread in the Steps, but out-go one of his Predeceſſors, who in a Quarrel with his *Holineſs*, ſent him word, That what he coud not juſtify by *Cannon-Law*, he woud by the *Law of the Cannon*.

His Device the *Sun* in its *Meridian* with his Motto *Non pluribus impar*, ſufficiently ſhews his Intentions for the Univerſal Monarchy, and the haughty Opinion

Opinion he conceives, of his being the only Perſon qualify'd for the Goverment of more Worlds than one, declares his Reſolutions of admitting no Rivals in Soverainty, looking upon all other Princes but as ſo many ſmaller Stars, or wandering Planets compar'd with him the *Sun*; from whom after the antiquated and juſtly exploded Opinion of ſom Philoſophers, they are to receive their borrowed Light or Power, as it ſhal pleaſe his *Mightineſs* to diſpenſe: So that Crowned Heads, Princes and Republics, as wel as their Subjects, are to expect the ſame *meat* that of *Slavery*; and tho that be not *ſweet*, yet the *ſawce* wil be *ſower*, *poinant* to all, tho perhaps a little differenc'd; The former may be allow'd *Golden*, while the later are to be manacled with *Iron*-Chains. In order hereunto, his Ambition has made him reſolve the Conquering of the World after the Example of *Alexander*, whoſe Title of *Great* as an *earneſt* of his future Hopes, he has already aſſum'd. He has vow'd to make himſelf as Famous

to

to Posterity, by his Sword, tho not by his Pen, as *Cæsar* has don: That *Paris* shal give Law to the *Universe*, as *Rome* once did, and that the *Ocean* shal yield no less to the *Seine*, than formerly it did to *Tyber*. Now if *England*, which alone is able to do it, prevents the Execution of these vast Purposes, what can we expect, but that one time or other, he wil seek a Revenge; and notwithstanding his Promises and solem Confirmations of Peace, try against us the success of his Arms, and by numbers endeavour *for this mighty Insolence*, to chastise those, for whom even their own Histories wil convince them, they are Man to Man a very unequal Match.

The dis-banding his Forces for the present, is far from being a security, since he may raise them again at his Pleasure. Nor indeed do I imagin, he wil discharge his Armies, since that were to give them an opportunity of Rebelling, for which he is sensible, his People are sufficiently prepar'd, and only want either Domestic Heads and Partisans, or For-

Forrein Aſſiſtance, to reſcu themſelves from Tyranny and Oppreſſion. And is it fit, while ſo potent and ſo near a Monarch is in Arms, that we ſhoud ſtand with our hands in our Pockets? No, I am perſwaded, tho a preſent Peace ſhoud be concluded, that the King and his Miniſters, wil think it for the common ſafety, and the particular Intereſt of *England*, not only to enter with the Confederats into a ſtrict Allyance offenſive and defenſive, but alſo, to put themſelves into a Poſture of War both at Sea and Land. The end of *War* is *Peace*, but a *Peace* with *France* ſeems to me to be the beginning of *War*, or (at leaſt) a Preparation for One; and I muſt ingenuouſly profeſs, tho War be a great Evil, yet from all Appearances, I dread the Conſequences of a *Peace* more, for that without great care, it wil be of the two, the moſt fatal to *England:* But this Conſideration, as moſt fit, I leave to my Superiors, and wil only ask You, whether before we engage in a War abroad, it be not fit, To ſecure a Peace at home?

home? To reconcile by Toleration, our Differences in point of Religion, That the *French* Emiſſaries, or others, may not be able to ſtrike Fire into the Tinder already prepared for the leaſt Spark. It muſt not be forgot, That, to divert or diſable Queen *Elizabeth* from aſſiſting *France*, or def nding *Holland*, *Phillip the Second* of *Spain* incouraged and aſſiſted *Tyrone*, to Rebel in *Ireland*; That in the long War between *Us* and *France*, it was the frequent Practice of that Crown to incite the *Scots* to make Incurſions upon us; And I preſume, it wil be conſider'd, Whether ſome ambitious Men of that Kingdom may not influence the People to favor or ſide with a Prince who maintains great numbers of their Nation, by the Conſiderations *that they are now but a Province, that* England *denyes them an equal Freedom in Traffic; That they may have better Terms from the* French *in that and Religion*, in which by denyal of Liberty they ſeem diſ-ſatisfy'd.

Tho ſuch perſons can't poſſibly work on

on the Wiſe, the conſiderative of the People, yet ſure it were not improper to ſtudy a courſe, to prevent the unthinking Croud, the Rabbles being deluded by ſuch falſ and groundleſs pretenſions; which in my Opinion are with more care to be provided againſt in *Ireland*, where 'tis ſaid thoſe and other Motives may be urged: For there are computed to be in that Kingdom about eleven hundred thouſand perſons, of which 800000 are *Iriſh*, and of them above 10000, born to Eſtates, diſpoſſeſt; theſe for their loſſes, and others for reſtraint in matters of Religion, are diſcontented, not conſidering their own Rebellion occaſion'd their Ruin: (by their Murmurings I perceive let the Sentence be never ſo juſt, it wil not hinder the condemn'd from railing againſt the judg:) That, beſides their ſuffering in Eſtate and Religion, they are yet further beyond the *Scots* renderd uncapable of injoying any Office or Power Military, or Civil, either in their native, or any other, of their Princes Countryes; Their folly having

ving thus reduced them to a condition more like that of Slaves than Subjects, many of the Gentry go frequently into other Kingdoms, but moſt into *France*, who may poſſibly be incouraged to return to move the People to a new Sedition, eſpecially if they can give them aſſurance of forrein Aſſiſtance. The King wiſely foreſeeing this, directed in 1673. his late vigilant and prudent Vicegerent the Earl of *Eſſex*, to diſarm the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and notwithſtanding the exact execution of that command, its ſaid that his Majeſty intends to put himſelf to the further Charge of increaſing his Army in that Kingdom, beyond what now it is, and to appoint a conſiderable Squadron of *Ships* to guard and defend its Coaſts from any *Attempts* of Invaſion, without which there is not the leaſt fear of any inteſtine Commotions.

This, with the charge he has bin at in Erecting a new Fort in the Harbor of *Kinſale*, the moſt likely place to prevent the entring of any Forrein Power into that Country, ſhews he has bin watchful

watchful to ſecure himſelf and People againſt the *French* deſines. And now I touch upon *Ireland*, I have heard ſom ſay, that it is not only convenient but neceſſary, to unite that Kingdom to this, To make a new diviſion of Shires, To ſend only ſo many Members to Parliament, as coud no more join to out-Vote us, than *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire* with two or three other Countyes: But I ſee not if they were thus made one, wherein their intereſt woud be different from ours; many rather think they woud be loſers by the Bargain. Others fancy *Pointings* Act ſhoud be repeal'd, that at firſt, tho a trick, it was neceſſary; but now is not, all the power and almoſt all the Land, being devolved upon ſuch as are mediatly or immediatly *Engliſh*, and Proteſtants; And that by an eaſy contrivance, they might be ſtill oblig'd to a dependence on the Crown of *England*; by which, its ſaid, if they are always ſo kept under, as to be no more *than hewers of Wood* and *drawers of Water*, they may in future Ages be incouraged

to a *defection*, and either ſet up a Power of their own, or invite a forreiner, which might prove of ill conſequence to *England*; For the harbours and ſituation of *Ireland* lying more convenient for Trade, makes it that way, or otherwiſe, a ready inlet to the conqueſt of *England*.

The People there, ſtomach the prejudice, in point of Commerce, deſined, tho not effected, by the Acts againſt their Cattle, Navigation, and Plantation Trade; by the firſt they are ſaid to have gaind vaſtly, by an increaſe in Woollen and Linnen Manufactures, in Shipping and forrain Traffic, to the great prejudice of *England*: And I have bin credibly inform'd, by a perſon who examin'd it, that they have gaind *Communibus annis*, forty thouſand Pounds *Sterling* yearly, by the Exported Commodities of Beef, Tallow, Hides, Butter, and Wool, yeelding ſo much more, after the paſſing that Act, than they and the Cattle did before, when tranſported together. And if the *Iriſh*, of which there

are

are few pure Families left, have ſom pretence to the Kings Favour, as he is lineally deſcended from *Fergutius*, ſecond Son of the then Reigning King of *Ireland*, and firſt of *Scotland*, which was anciently peopled from thence, The *Engliſh* there claim greater ſhare in his Majeſties Grace, and ſay of Right, they ought to be accounted but the younger Brothers of *England*. I coud wiſh with all my heart, the ſtory were tru, I had from an *Iriſh* Gentleman in *France*, that his Countrey-men were ſo pleaſed, that they were at laſt govern'd by a King deſcended from their own blood Royal, that they had reſolved, to pay his Majeſty and the Succeſſors of his Line, the Allegiance due from natural born Subjects, not from a Conquer'd People, which they now no more eſteem themſelves, nor deſire to be accounted by others: How much of this may be tru you and I know not, but this I think, If all the Natives were oblig'd to ſpeak *Engliſh*, and all call'd by the Name of *the Engliſh of Ireland*, and allow'd

equal Privileges in Trade, the ſame uſages and cuſtoms, begetting a Harmony in Humor, that Rancor might in time be remov'd, which from a ſenſe of being Conquer'd renders them now troubleſom and chargeable to this Kingdom.

This was deſign'd in part by Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*, and perhaps had bin effected for the whole, but that the *Iriſh* coud not be ſaid to have bin fully Conqer'd before the tenth year of his Reign, which was after the making of thoſe Statutes. It woud be, I confeſs, an advantage to *England*, to be freed from the Charge and neceſſity of keeping that Kingdom under by a conſtant Army; and conſidering the inconveniences this Nation has ſuffer'd, by their frequent Wars and Rebellions, Their gain woud be more, if they had never Conquer'd the Countrey, in which the loſſes of the *Engliſh* coud perhaps be never better compenſated, than by ſinking it, if poſſible under water. The acceſſion of ſo much people unto *England*, might make ſom Reparation, for the

the greater number which to our own impoveriſhment we have ſent thither. I have dwelt the longer, upon the conſiderations of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to ſhew the *Frenchman* may be miſtaken, who, about ten or twelve Years ſince, publiſht a Book of *Politics*, Chalking out the way for the *French* Kings gaining the Univerſal Monarchy (in immitation of *Campanella* to *Philip* the ſecond on the ſame ſubject) wherein, after ſeveral inſufferable ſlights and indignities, intolerable baſe, falſe and malicious Characters thrown and fixt upon the *Engliſh*, he tells it will be an eaſy task to overcome them (but in the laſt place) by ſowing diviſions among the King of *Englands* Subjects, eſpecially thoſe of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; By falſe inſinuations, jealouſies and fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, *&c.* the prevention wherof wil be his Majeſtyes particular Care, and the Parliaments, to inable him to carry on this great Work of our common ſafety, againſt the common Enemy the diſturber of the Peace of Chriſten-

dom by finding out an eaſy and ſufficient *fond*, which naturally brings me to the Conſideration of *Taxes*, allow'd by all underſtanding Men, as abſolutly neceſſary for the ſupport of the Body politic, as Meat and Drink for the natural: But what *kinds* are beſt, has been much diſputed: Before I deſcend to particulars, it is not amiſs to obſerve in general, That no *Taxes* can be *juſt* or *ſafe*, which are not *equal*. All Subjects, as wel the meaneſt, as the greateſt, are alike concern'd in the common Safety; and therefore ſhoud, according to their reſpective Intereſts of Riches or Enjoyments, bear the Charge in equal Proportions: The contrary Practice muſt of neceſſity beget Murmurings and Diſcontents, which ſeldom ending in Words, proceed higher to Blows, dividing the Oppreſſed againſt the *others*, which wil certainly diſquiet and diſturb, and may probably ruin both.

Of Taxes.

That all *Taxes* ſhoud be *proportion'd to the neceſſities of State*; That in comput-

ing

ing theſe, the Error, if any muſt be, is ſafer on the right hand, than in defect; becauſe the Overplus may be order'd to other good Public Uſes.

That when *Taxes* are made equal to the People, and proportionat to the Charges of the Public, 'Tis much more for the Subjects eaſe, and the common Safety, That they be made *Perpetual*, than Temporary: For, if the Means of ſecuring our ſelves againſt all the Dangers to which we are expos'd, be not ſufficient, we muſt undoubtedly yield our ſelves up to the Mercy of our Enemies, or ſuffer much Vexation, in parting with further Supplies from time to time, out of that Subſtance, which Nature or our own almoſt equally binding Cuſtomes, have made but juſt enuff for the ſupport of our Selves and Families; either of which is very grievous: and becauſe the Event is uncertain, 'tis hard to determin, which of the two is moſt Deſtructive to the Pleaſures of Life; for he that ſays, The Choice is eaſy, in that your Enemies may take away your Life,

the other Courſe does but render it Miſerable; is in my opinion much miſtaken, it being more eligible to have no Senſe at all, than to have it only to endure Pain: For Life is in it ſelf a thing indifferent, neither good nor bad, but as it is the Subject of pleaſing or unpleaſing Perceptions; and is then better or worſe, as it has more or leſs of the one or the other: So that the proper Queſtion is not, Whether it be better to live or not to live? but, Whether Miſery be preferable to no Miſery? To which, not only Reaſon but Senſe is able to give a ſatisfactory Anſwer. You ſee then, that if the *Taxes* fal ſhort of their end, we are expos'd to great Miſeries; and therfore to exceed is ſafer, eſpecially when things may be ſo order'd, that after the occaſions are ſupply'd, the *ſurpluſage* may be *refunded*, or imploy'd in the way of a *Banc* or *Lombard*, or *public Trade*, as *Fiſhing* or *Cloathing*, &c.

The firſt as an unexpected Gift, wil be very grateful to the People, and the other wil not be leſs benificial be-

becauſe it muſt encreaſe their Riches, and be a *fond* without new *Taxes* for any future Emergencies.

That *perpetuating the Revenu* is moſt eaſy for the People, and moſt convenient for Public Ends, wil farther appear from theſe following Conſiderations; That an equal *Tax* tho greater than is needful, ſo the Money be not hoarded up to hinder Trade, but iſſued as faſt as it comes in, for neceſſaries within the Country, however it may for the preſent make ſom Alterations in particular Families, do's not impoveriſh the Whole: For Riches, as Power, conſiſting in compariſon, All, equally retrenching ſom part of their Expences, remain as Rich as they were before. This Retrenchment may at firſt ſeem unpleaſant and ſtomacful to thoſe who think what they have little enuff for their privat Expence; But ſuch ought to conſider, if they refuſe to part with ſom, they wil infallibly loſe all; That inſtead of being a free People, they may becom *Slaves*, and wil not then have it in their Power to keep

ought of what they cal their own; have no Liberty or Property, but at the pleasure of their *conquering Tryumphant Lord* and *Master*: That then they wil be dealt with like *Beasts*, now they have the Liberty of Rational Men, *i. e.* of *chooſing with the wiſe Merchant in a Storm, to throw ſom of his Goods over-board*, to *ſecure his Life*, and *the reſt of his Fortune*. When by prudent Rules of Oeconomy and Temperance, they have par'd off thoſe great Extravagancies men are now given to, in Cloaths, in Meat and Drink, *&c.* to the decay of their Healths, and ſhortning of their Lives, and have proportion'd their Layings-out to their Comings-in, what for the preſent ſeems ſo hard, wil becom very eaſy, and be hereafter no more felt, than the payment of Tythes now; which without doubt wrought the ſame Effect at firſt, as this may be ſuppos'd to do. But what is yet much better, *they wil make us Rich*; for I am Convinced, that the great *Taxes* in the united *Netherlands* have bin the chiefeſt Cauſe of their great Wealth; and tho this

this be no ſmal Paradox, and perhaps a new one, I am fully perſwaded it contains a great Truth; for their great *Taxes* neceſſitated great Induſtry and Frugality, and theſe becoming Habitual, coud not but produce Wealth; eſpecially conſidering that the Product of Labor is more valuable to the Kingdom than the Land, and all other Perſonal Eſtate, which I wil ſhew under the particular of *Trade*. When the *Taxes* are leſs than ſerve, or to laſt but for a time, thoſe who do not make their Expences ſhort of their In-comes, but think they may without prejudice make both Ends meet; or if they exceed ſo ſoon as that Proportion which now goes to the Public comes in, it wil make things even again; do not conſider, how difficult it is to fal, and that in the mean time an Accident may happen, that not only requires the continuance of the Temporary, but alſo of impoſing new and greater *Taxes*: Then, when perhaps it's too late, they cry out, *They are ruin'd, and undon*; and indeed, the Caſe ſeems hard, yet

yet can't be avoided. Therefore to answer our preſent Needs, and prevent for the future ſuch great Evils, the *Taxes* are to be made perpetual; So we being under a neceſſity of adjuſting our Privat Affairs accordingly, a little time wil make them Habitual to us, and inſenſible to our Poſterity: For, that if they be not perpetual, but to determin at certain or uncertain Periods of Time, they do not only becom uneaſy to the Subject, but inconvenient for the Publick Security, which may ſuffer much at Home and Abroad in the interval, before new Supplies can be legally rais'd.

I do not doubt, but You and your Fellow-Members, have it in yout Thoughts, that all the Cuſtoms and half the Exciſe ceaſe upon the death of our Soverain, for whoſe long Life every good Subject is bound by intereſt no leſs than duty, heartily to Pray; but is it not to be remembred, that the Period of humane Life is uncertain, tho that of our evil which may thereupon inſue, be not; the occaſions of our expence continuing, tho the means of ſupporting

porting them fail; That before a Parliament can be conven'd, thoſe others may be increas'd, becauſe in the mean time the Merchants wil fil the Kingdom with goods, and ſel them at the ſame rates they now do, reckoning that a lucky hit, and ſo anticipate the Markets for two three or more years, with all manner of Staple Commodities, Linnen, Silk, Salt, *&c.* which they have near at hand; and with what periſhable Commodityes, they can procure, for as long a term as they wil laſt, and perhaps covetouſly and fooliſhly for a longer; Thus the People wil pay and loſe, and yet the State grow poor, as wel for the preſent, as future, while the Merchants only, the overhaſty and immature, wil have the profit: And tho they talk loudeſt, the conſumptioner ſtil pays the Duty, and that with Intereſt.

In proportioning of Taxes, we muſt have recourſe to the neceſſities of the Charge, which in my ſence of things ought to extend to all that relate to us as ſingle perſons, in matters of right or wrong

wrong, as Law, &c. as wel as to what concerns us, with reference to the whole in our public occasions, as of Peace or War, forrein or Domestic; For I hold it altogether as reasonable, that the Public shoud pay all those Officers who promote and distribute Justice, as wel as those others now paid by the State; In proportion to which, I hope our Governors wil consider what wil suffice, for the management of all Affairs that any way conduce to the joynt good of the whole Body Politic, and when that is known and fixt, leave the rest to our own particular disposal.

But in this proportioning of Taxes, we must rather look forward than backward. Our home occasions are easily judged, but those abroad must be taken by other measures, the former use of Mony compar'd with its present, the ancient demeans of the Crown with what they are now, and the strength and power of our Neighbours, especially the *French*; concerning whom we are not

to

to forget, That that Crown is much more potent than it was heretofore, by the acceſſion of large Territories, which, when *Englands*, gave it great Aid and Aſſiſtance in their War: That the expence of one years War in this Age, is greater than of twenty in former times; That then two pence a day woud go further than twenty pence now; That ſix or ten thouſand men were as conſiderable an Army, as forty or fifty thouſand now; Then a ſmal Caſtle, Moat, or ordinary Ditch, was a good Fortification; But mighty Baſtians, large Curteines doubly fortified with Fauſsbrais, Counterſcarps, half Moons, Redoubts and great variety of other Out-works, according to the Nature and Situation of Places, with exquiſite skil, and vaſt expence made and defended, together with the ſtrongeſt Cittadills, are now taken: Then the charges of Arms & Amunition, Bows and Arrows ſerving inſteed of fire Arms, were inconſiderable: That now *France* has in conſtant pay above a hundred and twenty ſom ſay above two hundred thouſand fighting Men,

Men, whose standing Army in former times exceeded not ten thousand, nor so many but on particular occasions; Then a single Battle, or at most a Summers expedition put an end to a War, no long nor formal sieges to spin out the Quarrel. Now the whole scene is changed, from what in those days it consisted in; Courage and Strength of body, into that where Patience in Fatigue, Dexterity in Wit, and Mony in Purse shal make the Coward and the Weak an equal Match at least, for sinewy and gigantic force. There is no doubt but as many of the *English*, as luxury and idleness have not softned into Effeminacy, have stil as great Valour and Resolution: but they are to consider, that their old Enemys, the *French* are not the same they formerly were: That they finding their first *Sa Sa*, or brisk onset woud not do the Feat, and wanting Courage to rally, Nature having deny'd them bodily strength, but to supply that defect, having given them Wit to use Stratagems, have quite changed the Scene of War, and taken their

their leave of the old way of venturing body to body.

That in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, thirty Ships, ſuch as perhaps exceeded not our third and fourth rate Frigats, were the Fleet which gave Law to the biggeſt part of the World, the Sea; and without the help of Storms, doubted not to have overcom the too arrogantly ſtyl'd *Invincible Armada*. That in thoſe days few beſides the Kingdom of *Spain*, and State of *Venice*, had any Ships of War: That *France* and *Holland* were then very weak, and all four unable to contend with us: That now the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Hamburghers*, *Oſtenders*, and *Algerines*, &c. have conſiderable Fleets. That the States of the *united Provinces* have much more Shipping than the *French* King, who yet has upwards of two-hundred Men of War, and many larger than moſt in *Europe*, and is every day building more; and leſt he ſhoud yet have further need, I have an account, he has lately countermanded about fifty Sail of St. *Maloes* and *Haven de Grace*, Merchant-Men,

of

of considerable Force, bound to *New-found-Land*. If then his Power be so vastly increas'd, that as he gives out, he has Cash for five years Charge, and Provisions and Forrage for two. That his ordinary Revenu in *France*, not to speak of his new Acquisitions, amounts by the most modest Computation to above nine Millions *sterling per annum*; and his Country being Rich, and the Power in his own Hands, he may at any time raise what more he pleases: Is it not then necessary to consider our own strength, and by sufficient supplies at Home, as wel as Allies abroad, secure our Necks against that Yoke with which he threatens to inslave all *Europe*?

Nor wil it be amiss for the Subject to observe, That the *French* by fomenting our Quarrels forein and domestic, have bin the main occasions of the great Taxes and Impositions (necessary Appendages of the former) under which the *English* Nation has groand for these last forty Years, even the Ship-Mony had its Rise from the Affronts their Pride and Insolence

lence threw up on us, and they wil yet oblige us to ſuffer more, unleſs by the joynt force of our Arms and Mony in a round and larg ſupply for the War, we ſpeedily inable our ſelve's, to revenge our paſt injuries and their preſent deſines, and ſo put it out of their power, either by this or any other of their crafty Practiſes, to diſturb or hurt us for the future.

And 'tis to be conſider'd, That as the Expences abroad are much greater, ſo they are likewiſe at home; That an hundred Pound before the eighteenth of *Edward the third*, was equivalent in intrinſic valu to three hundred Pound of our now current Mony; their Groat being rais'd to our Shilling. That our Expences are not only far greater than they were in thoſe Days, but that our neceſſary Uſes require ten times as much as they coud be then ſuply'd for; perhaps no leſs occaſion'd by the diſcovery of the *weſt Indy* Mines (the plenty of every Commodity making it cheap) than by our own much greater extravagance: Whence it is plain, that the preſent *Re-*

venu of the State, even for neceſſary occaſions, ought to exceed the ancient, as thirty does one. And ſince our great Intreſt, no leſs than honor, lies in *ſecuring the Dominion of the Seas*, and by that our *Trade*; our Fleet muſt be anſwerable to that of our Neighbours; It wil then, allowing the *Engliſh*, man to man, to be a third ſtronger than the *French*, ſeem reaſonable, to have an Hundred and fifty Ships of War in conſtant readineſs. And comparing the charge of the Admiralty, by taking an eſtimat of what it was in Queen *Elizabeths* time, 30000 and in the beginning of King *James's* 1604. 40000, with what it has bin ſince this Kings Raign, which if I miſtake not, I have bin told by more than your ſelf, was offerd to be made out in Parliament, to have bin 500000 *per annum*. But granting it was but 400000, it muſt follow, that our Fleet has bin ten times bigger, than that of King *James*, or that the Charge is now ten times more; That if it be yet neceſſary to inlarge it treble, to make it ſtrong enuff, that wil

increaſe

increaſe the ordinary *Annual* Charge by the firſt Account to 1500000, by the laſt to 1200000. And if the Building of thirty Ships require near 600000 p. how much more wil be wanting to compleat the Fleet 150 Sail, and to continu building every Year, with an allowance of one third leſs, in proportion to the *French* Kings? By which we can not yet reckon our ſelves ſecure from the common Foe, without a ſtrict Alliance with the *Germans*, *Dutch* and *Spaniards*. If then the ordinary occaſions of our Fleet require thus much, and the extraordinary a vaſt addition, the common Expenſes in every particular above thirty for one, more than in *Edward the Thirds* time, when the Crown had a large Revenu in Lands, what wil all need in the extraordinary Accidents of War, *&c.* now when theſe are almoſt dwindled into nothing? But theſe conſiderations I leave to the proper Perſons; yet, by the by, give me leave to tel you, they were never thought of, by thoſe Mal-contents, who have

talk'd loud of the great ſupplies this King has had: This alone Cancels the Obligation; he that brags of having don another good turns, pays himſelf, and does not only free but diſoblige the Recever: It woud have argued more ingenuity, not to have compared the Subſidies of this Kings Raign, with thoſe of his Predeceſſors, without taking notice, that perhaps his occaſions required more, than all theirs did. That dureing the eighteen Years He and his Father were kept out of their Rights, he muſt have contracted vaſt debts, for the ſupport of himſelf, his Army and his followers; That the great Revenu of the Crown was in a manner gon; That other Kings had ſquees'd vaſt ſums from their Subjects, by Loanes, Monopolies, *&c.* of which no mention was made in the computation; That the building of ſhips and above four years of ſuch War at Sea conſum'd more, than any one hundred years War at Land, ſince the Conqueſt. That the conſideration of the vaſt Charge *Dunkirk* put the Crown to,

at

at leaſt three times more than it yeilded, occaſiond the Adviſe of its Sale. That *Tangier* has ſtood the King in very great ſums. That til of late, the ſupporting the Charge of *Ireland* helped to drein the *Exchequer* of *England*; That the intrinſic Valu of one Million formerly, was equal to that of three Millions now, and in real uſe to thirty millions; For the tru intrinſic Valu, or worth of Mony, is no otherwiſe to be computed, than according to what it wil purchaſe for our preſent Conſumptions; which I have reckond to exceed thoſe of old but by ten, tho I have heard others ſay much more. But that which has made theſe Complaints ſo loud, has not bin only inconſideration, or perhaps malice, but the inequallity of impoſeing the Taxes; Thoſe great inconveniencies may be eaſily obviated for the future, by makin and applying to particular Uſes, ſuch ſufficient and equal Fonds as are neceſſary to be ſetled; I wil only inſtance in one, That of the Cuſtomes, which ſeems originally to have

had its Riſe for that *End*, & therefore ought to be appropriated to the Uſe of the Navy; I wiſh it were great enuff, for ſuch as our ſafety requires.

And if this Courſe be taken in *apportioning the Revenu*, the Public and Privat Expences are to be generouſly computed; the doing ſo, wil remove Jealouſies and Diſtruſts on all ſides, the King wil be under no neceſſity of ſtraining his Prerogative, by hearkning to the devices of Projectors, the People wil be quiet and at eaſe; and then every Man may ſafely *ſit under his own Vine, and his own Fig-tree, and enjoy with pleaſure the Fruits of his Labor*. If you look into the Hiſtories of paſt Ages, you wil find the Diſputes of the *Prerogative* on one hand, and of *Liberty* on the other, were alwayes founded on the want of Mony; and he that conſiders the Evils that have enſued, wil ſoon believe it very neceſſary, to prevent the like for the future, by applying to every uſe of the Crown or State, (I do not ſay to the Perſon of the King, whoſe greateſt Share is the Trouble, while the Subjects is Security and

and Eaſe) a *ſufficient* and *perpetual Revenu*. This Act wil beget an intire Confidence and Love, and ſo unite us to one another, as wil make it impoſſible for any Storms without, or Commotions within, to ſhake this Kingdom, ſo founded on a Rock; againſt which, all, who make any attempts, muſt needs ſplit themſelves and Fortunes.

I have, according to my wonted Freedom, given you my Thoughts, why I think it more convenient, both for Public and Privat, That the Revenu were ſufficient and perpetual: againſt which, I never met but with one Objection, to wit, *That if that were don, the King woud not ſo frequently, if at all, call his Parliament*: As if there were no uſe for this great Council, but raiſing of Mony: The altering or repealing the old, and making new Laws; the reforming of Errors and Abuſes, in Inferior Courts of Juſtice; the deciding the Controverſies, thoſe Courts coud not, and many other things woud make their Meeting neceſſary; The King woud ſee 'twere his Advantage to cal

them often, ſince beſides that *there is ſafety in the multitude of Counſellors*, all that happens to be ſevere and harſh, woud light on them, and yet none coud be offended, becauſe the Act of the whole: Nor coud His Majeſty but be ſenſible that all Innovations are dangerous in a State; for it is like a Watch, out of which, any one peece loſt woud diſorder the whole; That the Parliament is the great Spring or Heart, without which, the Body of the Common-wealth, coud enjoy neither Health nor Vigor, Life nor Motion; That while they mind their Duty, in propoſeing and adviſing what is beſt for King and People, without privat Reſpect, leaving him the undoubted Prerogative of Kings, of Nature and Reaſon, of Aſſenting or Diſſenting, as he is convinc'd in his Conſcience, is beſt for the *Common Good, which is to be his meaſure in all Actions, as the Laws are to be the Subjects Rule*; I ſee not why it ſhoud not be his intereſt, to cal them frequently. That none can be ſuppos'd to adviſe the contrary, unleſs ſom

few

few great Men, to avoid, not ſo much perhaps the Juſtice, as the Paſſion, Envy and Prejudice of ſom, in that Judicature, to whom they may think themſelves obnoxious: But granting this, 'tis unreaſonable to think, ſo wiſe and ſo good a Prince, wil prefer the Privat Intereſt, of any ſingle Man, tho never ſo Great, before the general Good and Satisfaction of his People: I ſhoud rather think, He wil in the Words of his Royal Father, in a Speech to his Parliament, give in this, a ful Aſſurance, *I muſt conclude, that I ſeek my Peoples Happineſs, for their flouriſhing is my greateſt Glory, and their Affection my greateſt Strength.* His Majeſty wel knows, with what tenderneſs and Love his Subjects are to be treated; that 'tis more ſafe, more pleaſing and more eaſy, to erect his Throne over their Hearts, than their Heads, to be obey'd for Love rather than Fear; the Dominion, founded on the later, often meets the ſame Fate, with a Houſe built upon the Sands; while that eſtabliſh'd on the former, continues firm and immovable

movable as a Rock: He is not ignorant, That as *the multitude of the Wise is the welfare of the World*, so does the *Being and Wel-Being of the* English *Nation, consist in the frequent Counsels, Deliberations and Acts of King and Parliament*; in which Providence has so blended the *King and People's Interests, that, like Husband and Wife, they can never be sunder'd, without mutual inconvenience and unhappiness.* The sense and observation of this, makes our King's Reign prosperous, and gives *Him* a more Glorious Title than that of *King, viz.* The *Father of the Country*, and the *great God-like Preserver of his Children's Rights and Liberties*, who, out of a deep sense of Duty and Gratitude, must own and remember who tels them, *That a wise King is the upholding of his People*; and therefore, cannot but pay him even for their own Interest, all imaginable Loyalty, Deference, and Respect, giving up their Lives and Fortunes for His (or which is all one, their own) Safety, who studies nothing so much as their *Good and Wel-fare.* Besides,

the

the King has already paſt an Act, that a Parliament ſhal ſit at leaſt once in three Years, and in ſeveral Speeches he has declar'd himſelf ready to do what further we ſhal deſire, for the better ſecurity of our Liberties, Properties, and Religion; why then ſhoud any think, He woud not eſteem it his own, as wel as People's Intereſt, to conſult often, and upon all ſuddain occaſions, with his Parliament? For my own part, I ſhoud rather believe, by continuing this ſo long, that he woud not be againſt their Aſſembling thrice a Year, as, by the Grace of former Kings, was accuſtom'd, for many Years, before and after the *Conqueſt*. But to put all Jealouſies to ſilence, The Parliament, in ſettling and appropriating the Revenu, to particular Uſes, may (as they have already begun to do, in the Act for building thirty Ships) Grant it under a kind of Condition, or Proviſo, *viz.* That the reſpective Officers, give a ful Account, of the Employment thereof, unto the Parliament, at leaſt, once in every three Years; Otherwiſe,

therwiſe, all farther Leavies of the ſame to ceaſe, &c.

Having ſaid thus much, in general of *Taxes*, I com now to the *particular Branches*; I have already ſhew'd the Inconvenience of the *Cuſtoms*, &c. determining with the King's Life; I wil further add, That the *Book of Rates* ought to be Reviewed, and in the new one, a greater Conſideration had of the Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of the Commodities, in placing the Impoſition on them; *viz.* rating all the allow'd *Commodities of France*, much higher than they are, raiſing the Duty of their *Wines*, to be at leaſt equal, with that, on thoſe of *Spain*: I never yet coud be ſatisfy'd, what induc'd the Compilers of that Book, to rate *Spaniſh Wines* higher, than thoſe of *France*; ſince the height of Duty is a ſort of Prohibition, which ought to be more taken care of, in the Trade with *France*, by which we are vaſt Looſers; than in that with *Spain*, which is a gainful one: The beſt Reaſon I could find, is, That they did it inconſideratly, taking

king it as they found it left, by the long Parliament, who by the ſenſe of Revenge for the War, were induced ſo to treat the *Spaniard*. One might have thought the laſt Impoſt on *French Wines*, woud have leſſen'd their Importation: *which* Colbert *the* Financer *obſerving it had not don* (I was aſſur'd at my Return in *Auguſt* by *Fontainbleau*, that) *in his Meaſures for the next Years Charge, he valued his Maſter* 100000 *on that Account, not doubting but the Parliament woud take off that Duty of Wine, which woud give him opportunity to put ſo much on; That at this, the* French *King ſmil'd and ſaid, For ſuch a kindneſs he ſhoud be oblig'd, and woud no more cal them Petite maiſon*; But I hope notwithſtanding his ſcornful quibble, he wil find ſuch *ſober reſolutions* in that houſe, as wil ſet him a *madding*, and that, inſtead of taking off that duty, he may perceive more put on; which is indeed the only effectual way to prohibit the importation, of theſe vaſt quantities of *French* goods, by which *England* is greatly Impoveriſht. To leſ-

ſen

ſen the Trafic of his People, is the firſt ſtep to lower him; which I am perſwaded is beſt don, by impoſing an exceſſive high duty, upon all the commodities, and contriving the Act ſo, that nothing ſhoud paſs duty free; this courſe woud be a better reſtraint, than abſolute prohibition: And 'tis the method he himſelf has taken in the trade with us, which he had long ſince wholly forbid, but that upon examination, he found, it was driven to above 1600000 *l.* Advantage to his ſubjects, and loſs to thoſe of *England*; this, rather yearly increaſing, than decreaſing, wil at length quite ruin us, if not prevented; and yet notwithſtanding, he impoſes upon our cloaths four ſhillings an Ell, as a ſumptuary law, to oblige his Subjects, to the uſe of their own manufactures.

The next is the *Exciſe*, which, if equaly impoſed, were the beſt and eaſieſt of all taxes; To make it ſo, after the manner of *Holland*, it ought to be laid upon all things ready to be conſum'd. This puts it into the Power, of every Man

Man to pay more or leſs, as he reſolves to live looſely or thriftily; by this courſe no Man pays but according to his Enjoyment or actual Riches, of which none can be ſaid to have more, than what he ſpends; tru Riches conſiſting only in the uſe. But the preſent Exciſe is grievous, becauſe heavyer on the poor Laborers and meaner ſort of People, than on the Rich and Great; who do not pay above a Tenth, of what the others do; and conſidering, that moſt of the Noble and Privat Families, out of *London*, Brew their own Drink, it falls yet heavier on the Poorer ſort, and wil at laſt on the State; for, the common Brewers do already complain, that they dayly loſe their Trade, many of their Cuſtomers, even in *London*, Brewing for themſelves, to ſave the Impoſition. To ſpeak the Truth, In good Conſcience, this Branch ought to have been impoſed on the Nobles and Eſtated-Men, rather than on the Artificer and Laborers, who were very ſlenderly concern'd in the Grounds of it, *viz.* the taking

taking away the *Wardſhips* and *Purveyance*, which was ſo great an Advantage to the Public, eſpecially the Richer, That that Act of Grace and Condeſcenſion in his Majeſty, which freed us and our Poſterity, from great Inconveniences and greater ſines of Subjection, ought never to be forgotten.

This Act gave us a greater Propriety and Liberty, than ever we had before; and muſt the Poor chiefly pay, for the benefit of the Rich? Let it not be told to the Generations to com, that an Act ſo unequal was contriv'd by thoſe who ſtudy only the public Intereſt; let it then be review'd, and either made general, on all public and privat Brewers, by which the Rich wil ſtil have advantage of the Poor, according to the difference between ſtrong and ſmal Beer, (For to allow Public Brewers, and prohibit all privat ones, as is practis'd in the low Countries, woud never be endur'd in *England*;) Or rather let it be plac'd on *Malt*, or taken quite off, and laid on the *Land* as a perpetual Crown Rent;

Rent; Or let there be a *general Exciſe* (the moſt equal Tax that poſſibly can be deviſ'd) on all *conſum'd Commodities of our own growth, or imported*: which ought to be managed by proper Officers; the Farming of any part of the Revenu being of evil Conſequence, as I coud ſhew at large, both to the State and People.

The *Hearth-Mony* is a ſort of *Exciſe*, but a very unequal one too; the ſmoak on't has offended the eyes of many, and it were to be wiſht, that it were quite taken away, and ſomthing in lieu thereof given to the Crown leſs offenſive to the peoples ſenſes; I have heard many ſay, That an impoſition on *Licenſes* for ſelling of Ale, Strong Waters, Coffee, Syder, Mum, and all other Liquors, and for Victualling-Houſes, might be as beneficial to the Crown, and ſo order'd as might prevent or diſcover High-way-Men, *&c.* I have read among the *Iriſh Statutes* one to this purpoſe, obliging among other things the Inn-keepers, *&c.* to make good all Horſes ſtolen out of

their Stables or Paſtures. An Impoſition on all Stage-Coaches, Carts, Waggons, and Carriers, ſet aſide for the wel ordering the Roads, woud be of general Advantage; as woud a Tax upon Periwigs, ſerving in part as a ſumptuary Law. A year, or half a years Rent charg'd upon all the new Buildings ſince 1656, woud not only much oblige the City of *London*, enabling them by the Difference of Rents to Let thoſe many waſt Houſes, which now to the Ruin of Trade remains un-tenanted, & alſo gratify the Kingdom, by eaſing them from the common thredbare, *Land-Tax*.

I do not queſtion but, in this Conjuncture, the Wit of Men wil be contriving new Ways to ſupply the preſent occaſions of a War; for that a *Land-Tax* is ſlow and unequal; and I am apt to fancy, that of the *Poll-Mony* wil be pitcht upon, as the moſt ſpeedy Levy, but muſt not be too great. As to my ſelf, I am not ſollicitous what Courſe they take, but wiſh it ſuch as may be equal, and ſo wil be pleaſing to moſt: But be it great or ſmal, the King, as formerly, wil be

agen

agen defrauded, unleſs there be ſpecial care taken; The way I apprehend is, That for twenty-one Years to com, neither Plaintif nor Defendant be allow'd the Benefit of the Law, without producing an authentic Acquittance or Diſcharge, that they have paid this *Pol-Mony*, and averring the ſame in their Actions or Pleas. That the Miniſters be forbid to Marry within that ſpace any, who do not, Women as wel as Men, produce ſuch Certificats. That none be admitted to any Office or Command, *Civil* or *Military*, Adminiſtration or Executorſhip, Freedom or Privilege in Town, City, or Corporation, or receiv'd into any of the Public Schools, Inns, or Univerſities, if of the Age limited by the Act, except they make out the ſaid Payment; which in three months after ought to be Regiſtred, with the perſons Names and Qualities.

Now, in regard that *England* is already very much under-peopled, and wil be more ſo if there be a War: To provide againſt thoſe Evils, and to obviat

in ſom meaſure the Looſneſs and Debauchery of the preſent Age, I have thought of a ſort of Tax, which I believe is perfectly new to all the World, and under which 'tis probable, if it takes, I have made Proviſion for my own Paying the Crown no inconſiderable Sum, during my Life.

'Tis a Tax upon Cælibat, or upon unmarryed People, *viz.* That the Eldeſt Sons of Gentlemen and other Degrees of Nobility upwards, ſhoud Marry by twenty-two compleat, all their Daughters by Eighteen, and Yonger Sons by Twenty-five: All Citizen's Eldeſt Sons (not Gentlemen) by Twenty-three; all other Men by Twenty-five. All the Daughters (not Servants) of all Men under the Degree of Gentlemen, to marry by Nineteen; all Maid-Servants by Twenty.

That all Widdowers under Fifty Marry within Twelve Months after the Death of their Wives; all Widdows under Thirty-five, within two Years after their Husband's Deceaſe, unleſs the Widdowers or Widdows have Children alive. I allow the Women, as the ſofter

and

and better natur'd, more time to lament their Loſs. That no Man marry after Seventy, nor Widdow after Forty-five. That all Men cohabit with their Wives.

That the Eldeſt Sons of Gentlemen, and all other Degrees of Nobility upward, and all other Perſons not Married by the times limited, as afore-ſaid, ſhal pay *per annum* a peece theſe following Rates, *viz.*

Dukes, Marqueſſes, and their Eldeſt Sons Forty pound, other Lords and their Eldeſt Sons twenty Pound, Knights, Barronets, ten Pound, Eſquires eight Pound, Gentlemen five Pound, Citizens three Pound, all other Retailing Tradeſ-men two Pound. The Yonger Brothers or Sons of all the fore-going Perſons (reſpectively) half ſo much; and likewiſe the Maiden Daughters, or rather their Fathers or Gardians for them. All Servants, Laborers, and others ſix Shillings eight Pence.

All the above-ſaid Widdowers or Widdows, not marrying again under the Age afore-ſaid half; but marrying again af-

ter the Ages above limited, double according to their Qualities respectively; and all marryed Men not cohabiting with their Wives to pay quadruple.

You may perceive I do not forget, in this Scheme, to practice som of the Courtesy of *England* towards the Women; That in regard it is not fashionable for them to Court (an hardship Custom and their own Pride has fooliſhly brought upon them) they are Tax'd but at half what their Elder Brothers are.

These things I do not set down with a Design of giving People a Liberty of playing the Fool as now, in Matters of Fornication under those Penalties. For all single Persons that do so, I would have oblig'd under an indispensible Necessity, to Marry one another: And could wish a further severity of Punishment were inflicted upon Adultery by the State, since 'tis so much neglected by the Church.

It would also be of great and public Advantage, that all Marriages were Celebrated openly in the Church, according

ding to the *Canon* or *Rubrik*, and the *Banes* three ſeveral Sundays or Holy-days firſt publiſhed; But if this muſt be ſtil diſpenſed with, that then all Dukes and Marqueſſes, and their Eldeſt Sons ſhoud pay twenty Pound, all Noblemen and their Eldeſt Sons fifteen Pound, every Knight and his Eldeſt Son ſeven Pound ten Shillings, every Gentleman or others five Pound, to the King as a *Public Tax* for ſuch Licenſe, over and above the preſent eſtabliſht *Fee* in the *Conſiſtory Court*. That if all Children may not be Baptized openly in the Church, the Births of all even of the *Non-conformiſts*, may be duly Regiſtred; the knowing the exact Numbers of the People woud be of great Advantage to the *Public-weal*, and conduce to many good and noble Purpoſes, which (for Brevity ſake) I omit to mention.

This Courſe may perhaps prevent many Inconveniences that young Men and Women bring upon themſelves and the Public: And ſince the *Concubitus Vagus* is acknowledged to hinder Procreation,

the Reſtraint thereof wil be one Means of advancing *Trade*, by adding more People to the Common-wealth, which perhaps in the following Particulars you wil find to be the greateſt occaſion of its Decay: An Inconvenience by all poſſible means to be removed; For that *Trade* is the Support of any Kingdom, eſpecially an Iſland, enabling the Subjects to bear the *Taxes*, and ſhewing them wayes of living more agreeable than thoſe of the Savage *Indians* in *America*, whoſe condition is but few Degrees diſtant from that of *Brutes*. Since then it is ſo neceſſary, it deſerves the *Parliaments* beſt Care, to reſtore it to what it has been, or make it what it ſhoud be. The firſt thing to be don is, The Erecting a *Council or Committee of Trade*, whoſe Work ſhoud be to obſerve all manner of things relating thereunto, to receive Informations of all Tradeſ-men, Artificers and others; and thereupon make their Obſervations; To conſider all the Statutes already made, and out of them form ſuch *Bil* or *Bils* as ſhal

Of Trade.

ſhal be more convenient, and preſent them to the *Parliament* to be enacted.

There are already many Diſcourſes publiſhr, ſom of them woud be worth their view, and did they Sit conſtantly, many would bring their Remarks, and I my ſelf ſhoud be able to give ſom Notions on this Subject, which for want of time I cannot now give you.

The two great Principles of Riches are *Land* and *Labor*; as the later increaſes, the other grows dear; which is no otherwiſe don, than by a greater Confluence of induſtrious People: For where many are coop'd into a narrow Spot of Ground, they are under a neceſſity of Laboring; becauſe in ſuch Circumſtances they cannot live upon the Products of Nature, and having ſo many Eyes upon them they are not ſuffer'd to ſteal; Whatever they ſave of the Effects of their Labor, over and above their Conſumption, is call'd Riches; and the bartering or commuting thoſe Products with others is call'd *Trade*: Whence it follows, that not only the greatneſs

of

of Trade or Riches depends upon the Numbers of People, but alſo the Deerneſs or Cheapneſs of Land, upon their Labor and Thrift.

Now, if *Trade* be driven ſo, that the Imports exceed in valu the Exports, the People muſt of neceſſity grow poor, *i. e.* conſume the Fundamental Stock, *viz. Land* and *Labor*, both falling in their price. The contrary Courſe makes a Kingdom Rich. The Conſequence is, That, to better the *Trade* of *England*, the People (which wil force Labor) muſt be increas'd, and Thrift incouraged: For, to hope for a vaſt *Trade* where People are wanting, is not only to expect *Bric can be made without Straw, but without Hands.*

The great Advantage a Country gains by being fully peopled, you may find by the following Obſervation, *viz. That the valu of the Labor is more than the Rent of the Land, and the Profit of all the Perſonal Eſtates of the Kingdom, which thus appears.* Suppoſe the People of *England* to be ſix Millions, their *annual* Expence at twenty

ty Nobles, or six Pound thirteen and four Pence a Head, at a *Medium* for Rich and Poor, Young and Old, wil amount to forty Millions; and, if wel consider'd, cannot be estimated much less. The Land of *England* and *Wales* contain about twenty four Millions of *Acres*, worth one with another, about six and eight Pence *per Acre*, or third part of a Pound; consequently the Rent of the Land is eight Millions *per annum*. The yearly Profit of all the Peoples personal Estate is not computed above eight Millions more; both together make sixteen Millions *per annum*; this taken out of the forty Millions yearly Expence, there wil remain twenty-four Millions, to be supply'd by the Labor of the People; Whence follows, that each Person, Man, Woman and Child must Earn four Pound a Year; and an *Adult* laboring Person double that Sum; because a third part or 2 Millions are Children, and Earn nothing; and a sixth part or one Million, by reason of their Estates, Qualities, Callings or Idleness,

Earn

Earn little; ſo that not above half the People working, muſt gain one with another, eight Pound *per annum* a peece; and at twenty Years Purchaſe, wil be worth Eighty Ponnd *per* Head. For, tho an *Individuum* of Mankind be recon'd, but about eight Years Purchaſe, the *Species* is as valuable as Land, being in its own nature perhaps as durable, and as improveable too, if not more, increaſing ſtil faſter by Generation, than decaying by Death; it being very evident, that there are much more yearly Born than Dye. Whence you may plainly perceive, how much it is the Intereſt of the State, and therefore ought to be their care and ſtudy, to fil the Country with People; the Profit woud not be greater in point of Riches, than in Strength and Power; for 'tis too obvious to be inſiſted on, that a City of one Miles circumference and ten Thouſand Men, is four times ſtronger and eaſier defended, than one of four Miles with double the Number.

Now,

Now, there are but two ordinary wayes of increaſing the People; that of Generation, and that of drawing them from other Countries: The firſt is a Work of Time, and tho it wil not preſently do our Buſineſs, yet is not to be neglected; I have ſhewn how it may be haſten'd by obliging to Marriage, and more might be added, by erecting *Hoſpitals for Foundlings*, after the manner now uſed in other Countries, and practiſed with great Advantage in *Paris*, by the Name of *L'hoſtel pour les enfants trouves*; where there are now reckon'd no leſs than Four Thouſand. This in all parts of *England*, eſpecially *London*, woud prevent the many Murders and contrived Abortions now uſed, not only to the prejudice of their Souls Health, but that of their Bodies alſo, and to the ge neral Dammage of the Public; This woud likewiſe be an Encouragment to the poorer ſort to Marry, who now abſtain to prevent the Charge of Children.

Stran-

Strangers are no otherwise to be invited, than by allowing greater advantages than they have at home; and this they may with more ease, receive in *England* than in any part of *Europe*, where natural Riches do much abound, *viz.* Corn, Flesh, Fish, Wool, Mines, *&c.* and which Nature has bless'd with a temporature of heathful Air, exceeding al Northern, and not inferior to most Southern Countries; has given it commodious Ports, fair Rivers and safe Channels, with possibilities of more, for water carriage; these, with what follows, woud soon make *England* the Richest and most powerful Country of the World. *Naturalization* without Charge, *plain Laws*, and *speedy Justice*, *Freedom in all Corporations*, *Immunities from Taxes and Tols* for seven Years, and lastly, *Liberty of Conscience*; the Restraint of which has been the greatest Cause at first of unpeopling *England*, and of its not being since repeopled. This drove Shoals away in *Queen Maries*, *King James*, and *King Charles the First's* Dayes; it has *lost* the Wealth of *England* many

many Millions, and bin the occaſion of ſpilling the Blood of many Thouſands of its People. 'Tis a ſad Conſideration, that Chriſtians ſhoud be thus fool'd by obſtinat Religioniſts, in whom too much Stiffneſs on one ſide, and Folly and Perverſneſs on the other, ſhoud have bin equally Condem'd, being indeed the Effects of Pride, Paſſion or privat Intereſt, and altogether Forrein to the Buſneſs of Religion; which, as I have already told you, conſiſts not in a Belief of diſputable things (of which if either part be tru, neither are to us neceſſary), but in the plain Practice of Piety, which is not incompatible with Errors in Judgment. I ſee not therefore, why the Clergy ſhoud be wholly heark'nd to in this Affair, ſince 'tis really impertinent to the Truth of Religion; and I dare appeal to all the ſober underſtanding and conſiderative Men of the Church of *England*, Whether the Oppoſition of this be not wholy founded upon Intereſt, which being but of particular Men, ought not nor wil not (I hope) weigh more with the

the Parliament, than that of the Public, which is so highly concern'd in this matter.

And tho it may be objected, That as Affairs of Religion now stand, none need leave *England* for want of *Toleration*; yet certain I am, without it none wil return or com in a-new. And if our Neighbors thrive, and increase in People, Trade and Wealth, we continuing at a stay, or growing stil poorer and poorer, by that means rendred unable to resist a Forrein Power, are like to fal into such Hands, as wil force us to *Worship God after the way which almost all of us now cal Heresy, and many Idolatry.* Which induces me to conclude, That nothing, but Inconsideration, can move even the *Clergy* to oppose this thing, on which their own as wel as the safety of all others do's so very much depend.

But in regard the Defects of *Trade* can't presently be supply'd by bringing in more People, because a work of time, it is necessary to make those we have useful, by obliging the Idle and unwilling

to

to a neceſſity of working, and by giving the Poor that want it a ful Imployment: This wil in effect be a great increaſing of the People, and may be eaſily compaſs'd if Work-Houſes be Erected, in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, and all Perſons forc'd into 'um, who cannot give a ſatisfactory Account of their way of Living; This woud prevent Robbing, Burglary, and the Cheats of Gaming, Counterfeiting of Hands, Mony clipping, *&c.* by which our Lives and Fortunes woud be much better ſecur'd; This woud put Men's Wits upon the Rack, *Hunger which eats thro Stone-Wals*, woud make them *ingetting their Livings by the Sweat of their Brows*, *Maſters of Arts*; a Degree perhaps more uſeful to the Common-Wealth, than thoſe of the Univerſity. *Magiſter artis ingenio; largitor venter*——

This woud put them upon the Invention of *Engines*, whereby their Labor woud not only becom more eaſy, but more productive of real Advantages to the Whole; rendring the *Poet's* Fable

of *Briareus* his hundred Hands, a certain Truth; one Man doing more by an Inſtrument, than fifty or a hundred without it. *Wit* will, thus in ſom meaſure, make amends for the want of People; Yet ſo dul and ignorant, ſo inſenſible of their own Good are the Vulgar, that generally inſtead of being pleas'd, they are at firſt almoſt implacably offended at ſuch profitable Inventions. But it appears, the Parliament had another ſenſe of Things, in that they allow'd the Advantage of fourteen Years to the Inventor: which Law, with Submiſſion, might be alter'd to better purpoſe, if inſtead of a fourteen Years *Monopoly*, ſom Reward out of the Public Stock were given to the *Ingenious*. That the many Supernumeraries in *Divinity*, *Law* and *Phyſic* with which the Kingdom (eſpecially *London*) ſwarms; all Mountebancs and pretenders to Aſtrology, together with the Supernumeraries in all manner of Retailing Trades (even the Trade of Merchandizing has too many Hands) eſpecially all *Pedlers* or Wanderers, that carry

carry their Shops on their Backs, *Lap-Women*, &c. who contribute little or nothing to the Charge of the *State*, be par'd off and made uſeful to the Publick; to which, by the vaſt increaſe of Theſe, and the great number of Idlers and Beggars, not above two Thirds even of the ordinary ſort can be lookt upon as bringing in any real Advantage; the other Third, but like Droans, living on the Labor of the reſt.

And to ſpeak more freely, 'tis unreaſonable and *impolitic*, eſpecially in a great and over-grown City, to ſuffer any Retail-Trades to be manag'd by Men, when Women, with the help of a few Porters, about the moſt cumberſom things, may do it much better; They wil invite Cuſtomers more powerfully than Men can, and having nothing to do in the way of their Shop-Trades, wil not be idle, their *Needles* employing them; while the Men perhaps, from two, three or four, to ſeven luſty young Fellows, ſit idle moſt part of their time, with their Hands in their Pockets, or blowing their

Fingers; few of these sort of Trades finding one with another, above two Hours work in the whole Day: The Men woud study som more beneficial Employments; and the Women having by this means somthing to do, woud not as now, induc'd by Idleness, more than Want, be occasions of so much Wickedness and Debaucheries, to the general Prejudice of the Common-Wealth, and the particular Ruin of many good Families.

To set on foot the *Fishing Trade*, and to allow to all such as wil undertake it, Strangers or Natives, the same Benefits and Priviledges I have mention'd for the bringing in of the former; and I think, if beyond that, Houses were built for them in *Linn*, or *Yarmouth*, &c, at the Public Charge, Rent-free for seven Years, every Man woud say, it were for the general Good, who considers that this *Trade* is the only *basis* of the Grandeur and Power, that the *States* of *Holland* are no less Lords of, in *Europe*, than in the *East-Indies*; to which it has rais'd

'um

'um in leſs than an Hundred Years, from the Poor and diſtreſſed States, to be one of the Richeſt and Mightieſt of the known World: This I coud at large make appear, but that it having bin don already, with the want of time, hinders me. I wil only ſay, That *Holland* has not the tenth part of thoſe Natural Conveniences for effecting this, *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland* have. That the ſame Encouragements be given to all ſuch, whether Natives or Forreiners, that ſhal joyntly carry on the particular Manufactures of Iron, Tinn, Earthenware, and Linnen, *&c.* in the laſt, at three Shillings four Pence an Ell one with another, is reckon'd conſum'd by us above ſix hundred thouſand Pound; all which might be ſav'd and the Poor ſet at work, by promoting that Trade within our ſelves. To reſtore the Woolen Manufactures almoſt decay'd, and to take the ſame Care in that, and all other, as the *Dutch* have don in that of the Herrings; The neglect in this has been a main Reaſon, that our Cloathing-

Trade is much leſſen'd; *Reputation in Commodities is as neceſſary*, as in the Venders: which makes the *Dutch*, even at this Day, put on *Engliſh* Marks, and thereby for the antient Credit (now in a manner loſt) ours were in, they have gain'd for their own Manufactures the Markets we want. The Decay of our Cloathing-Traffic has been occaſion'd by ſeveral Accidents; One, and no ſmal one, is that of Companies, which indeed are as much Monopolies, as if in one ſingle Perſon; They ruin Induſtry and Trade, and only to enrich themſelves, have a Liberty, by which they impoveriſh the reſt of the Common-Wealth. Whatever Reaſon there was for firſt Erecting them, *viz.* to begin or carry on ſom great Undertaking, which exceeded the Power of particular Men, there appears leſs or none now for their Continuance. The Enjoyment of Liberty and Property requires that all Subjects have equal Benefit in Safety and Commerce; and if all Subjects pay Taxes equally, I ſee no Reaſon why they

they ſhoud not have equal Privileges.

And if part of thoſe *Taxes* be impos'd for guarding the Seas, I do really believe it woud be more Advantage to the King, to ſend Convoys to the *Eaſt-Indies* and to *Guinea*, with any of his Subjects trading thither, than to allow theſe two Companies the ſole Benefit of ingroſſing thoſe Trades; tho I think no others, but they, being at conſiderable Charge and Expence, ought to be continu'd.

And ſince the *Eaſt-India* and *African* Companies, eſpecially the firſt, impoſe what Rates they pleaſe upon their Commodities, why ſhoud not they pay, for that Power of Taxing the Subject, a conſiderable preſent Proportion for carrying on the War, and a yearly round Sum to the State, to eaſe the reſt of the People, who are debar'd thoſe Advantages? In my opinion, Gratitude to the King, as wel as Juſtice to the Subject, ſhou'd invite them to give a conſiderable ſtanding yearly Revenu to the Crown. This

may be policy too; for then perhaps, they need never fear their Diſſolution, notwithſtanding the clamors and many mouths now open againſt them.

But if it ſhal be not thought fit, to take away all Companies, why ſhoud it not be lawful once a Year for any one, that pleas'd, to be made a Member, paying in his *quota*? This, I confeſs, woud make it uſeful to the Public, becauſe the Trade woud be manag'd by fewer Hands, conſequently to more Profit, and every one being concern'd, there coud be no Complaint.

But whatever is don in point of Trade, particular Corporations of Artificers ought to be broke; they, as now manag'd, are Incouragements to Idleneſs, Impoſitions upon the reſt of the People, and an unreaſonable enſlaving of Apprentices, who in three Years, for the moſt part, may be as wel Maſters of their Trade, as in ſeven: But the Advantage is, that when they com to Set up for themſelves, they commonly turn Gentlemen, and cannot afford to ſel a

Ca-

Cabinet under fifteen Pound, becauſe they muſt eat wel and drink Wine; tho they own a *Dutch-man* or a *French-man*, that does not ſo, may afford as good a one for twelve Pound: This of the Cabinet is a late and a true Story, and to my own Experience, 'tis the ſame in moſt, if not all other Trades.

The *Fiſh-monger's* Company is of all others, the greateſt Nuſance to the Public, to the moſt uſeful Part thereof, the poor Artificers and Laborers; I was credibly inform'd at my laſt being in *London*, by two ſubſtantial Citizens, That they throw part of their *Fiſh* away, to inhaunſe the valu and price of the Remainder.

That for theſe, and many more Reaſons I coud give, it were convenient, that every City and Town corporate conſiſted but of one Company, into which, without Charge or Formalities of Freedom, every man Native or Alien, ought to be admitted, that payes his propotion of *Taxes* and *Aſſeſsments*.

And in order to the bringing in Forreiners,

ers, our Native unmanufactur'd Commodities ought to be ſtrictly prohibited to other Countries; more particularly that the Exportation of Wool from *England* and *Ireland* be reſtrain'd; which wil be better don by impoſing a vaſt Duty upon it, as of thirty or forty Shillings a *Stone* or *Tod*, than by making it Felony; adding over and above great Pecuniary Mulcts, if ſhipt without Payment of Duty; If this were Enacted, many woud turn Informers, who now out of tenderneſs of Mens Lives, forbear the diſcovering this injurious Practice; for prevention whereof, great Care ought to be taken; ſince the vaſt quantities of Wool exported from *England* and *Ireland* into *France* and *Holland*, have in a manner deſtroy'd the great Staple of *England*, the Woolen-Manufacture, *lower'd* the *Rents* of *Land*, and *beggar'd thouſands of People*. By this the *Dutch* and *French* are inabled to make uſeful both *their own* and *Spaniſh* Wools, which woud otherwiſe be inſignificant and ineffective of any conſiderable Purpoſes; one being too Fine, the other too Courſe,

Courſe, without Mixtures of *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* Wool.

Thoſe, by greater labor and frugality, who heretofore were furniſht by us, do now not only ſupply themſelves, but alſo underſel us abroad; and as if that injury were too little, we are content, by wearing their Stuffs, to give them an opportunity of undermining us at home. If you conſider theſe things ſeriouſly, you wil with me be perſwaded, 'tis not the great increaſe of Wool, in *England* and *Ireland*, that makes it a *Drug*, but the Practiſe of carrying it abroad; and our not being ſatisfi'd to *ape* and *Mimic* the *French* Modes, but further to wear their Stuffs, tho far inferior to our own.

I have heard it demonſtrated, by knowing men, that it woud be *Englands* great intereſt, to work up all their own and *Iriſh* Wool, tho they ſhoud afterwards burn it when in Stuffs and Cloth; and I am convinc'd their doing ſo one year, woud not only maintain the Poor and habituat them to Labor, but be as great

great an advantage in the ſale of that Manufacture, both at home and abroad, for the future, as the burning part of their Spices, is to the *Dutch*. But I am of Opinion there woud be no need to burn any, for that which is now uſeful in Wool, woud not be leſs ſo in Cloth. I have ſeen a computation by which it appears the working up all our own and *Iriſh* Wool, which *England* can do to better purpoſes than a part, while the remainder is Tranſported to other Countries, woud be many Millions in the Wealth of the People, and as many Hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling* in the Kings Coffers. For if we kept this Commodity at home, we ſhoud not only give a ful employment to our People, but neceſſitat thoſe who now in *France* and *Holland* maintain themſelves by this Manufacture, ſo ſoon as their ſtocks were ſpent, to find new Arts of living, or elſe convey themſelves hither, which of the two, is certainly the moſt probable. Thus we ſhoud doubly increaſe our Wealth and our People; the latter

latter by Conſequence raiſing the Rents and valu of Lands, in duplicat proportion (as I coud demonſtrat) to what they now yield. For a ſhort inſtance obſerve, That if there be a thouſand People in a Country, the Land whereof is worth a thouſand pound *Per Annum*; and at twenty years purchaſe twenty thouſand *pound*. If they be encreas'd half as many more, or to one thouſand five Hundred People, the Rent of the Land wil likewiſe be half as much more *viz.* one Thouſand five Hundred *pound*, and the number of years purchas not only twenty, but half as many more, *viz.* in all thirty; which makes the valu of the inheritance amount to thirty times one thouſand five hundred or forty five Thouſand *Pound*. The reaſon of which is founded on this undeniable Maxim, *That Land is more or leſs valuable, as it is more or leſs Peopl'd.* When heretofore all the Wool of *England* was Manufactur'd in *Flanders*, it yielded but ſix pence a pound; but ſoon after the reſtraint of it in *Edward* the *Thirds* time, the manufacturing all

at

at home, rais'd it to eighteen pence a Pound, and brought in to the Kingdom great numbers of *Flemmings* and *Walloons*. To incourage this further, all persons whatsoever shoud wear nothing but Stuff and Cloath of our own make; the Ladies to have liberty to wear Silk but in Summer. I am told that within these six months, to encourage a Woollen Manufacture newly set up in *Portugal*, no man, Native or Stranger, is suffered to appear at Court in any other.

That useful neglected Act, of Burying in Woollen, shoud be strictly put in execution; not prohibiting the People, if they wil be so fooliſh (but probably a little time wil make them wiſer, than) to throw away linnen too, which if they woud make at home, might be the more tolerable: The way I conceive by which it may be easily don, is, to injoyn the Miniſter under penalty of deprivation, with allowance of Mony to the Informers, not to bury any one, whose Corps or Coffin, they do not see cover'd with Flannel. And since *Death* is

said

ſaid to be the Siſter of *Sleep*, or rather ſince *Sleep* is the repreſentation of *Death* as our Beds are of our Grave, or indeed, that *Death* is but a very long Night, if we ſhoud not only Bury, but ly in Flannel Sheets, at leaſt the long cold Winter Nights, I have bin aſſur'd by our old Friend — That this Practiſe, after a little uſe, woud be found no leſs for the health, if not ſom voluptuouſneſs of our natural Bodies, than the other woud prove for the Body Politic; and I am the more induc'd to believe this aſſertion, becauſe Phyſitians preſcribe Flannel Shirts to ſom perſons for their Health; I am certain the more ways are found for the Conſumption of this Manufacture, the Richer our Country woud grow, by leſſning the uſe of Forrein Linnen, ſo greatly advantageous to our Neighbors of *France*; whom we love ſo dearly, that we ſtudy how to ſerve and enrich them, tho to our own impoveriſhment and Ruin.

Beſides this Courſe, not a lock of Wool ſhoud be permitted into the Iſlands of *Jerſy*, *Guern-*

Guernſey, *Aldarney* or *Sark*; under colour of what is allow'd, they are enabled, to ſupply their own occaſions, and carry much more (of which I am wel aſſur'd) to *France*; which reaps the benefit of the great induſtry of thoſe populous Iſlands; to make them beneficial, at leaſt not hurtful, to *England*, is to deny them Wool; if that woud bring the People thence into this Country, it wil prove a double advantage. And laſtly, I think the only certainty of keeping our Wool from Forreiners, is to erect a Company by the Name of *State Merchants*, or Oblige the *Eaſt-India* Company, whoſe Stock and Credit wil enable them with eaſe, to buy up at good rates yearly, all the Wool of *England* and *Ireland*, which manufactur'd at home, woud bring them in a little time, as profitable returns, as thoſe from *Bantam*, *&c.* be many Millions in the Riches of the People, by raiſing the Rents, *&c.* an Hundred Thouſands in the Kings *Exchequer*, employ Thouſands of our Poo now ſtarving, and invite in many o

othe

other Nations to the great encreaſe of our Strength and Wealth, and ſo prove no leſs a particular than an univerſal good.

That all Foreſtallers, Regrators and Higlers be prevented, who now doe as much miſcheif to the City of *London*, as formerly purveiance did the Kingdom.

That the preſent confus'd buſineſs of weights and meaſures, which appears by many ſtatutes to have bin the care of our anceſtors, be fully aſcertain'd and adjuſted. And becauſe this does greatly tend to the regulation of trade and adminiſtration of Juſtice, it were convenient particular perſons were impower'd, who ſhoud receive complaints and correct abuſes, in thoſe and all other penal ſtatutes referring to trade, by ſome more ſpeedy courſe than that of information or indictment, *&c.*

That no particular Perſon or Incorporations have any places privileg'd againſt the Kings Writs.

That the Parliament woud be pleas'd to redreſs the great Obſtruction of Juſ-

tice by Protections, of which no leſs than ſixteen Thouſand are ſaid to be given in and about *London*. I am perſwaded that either the Report is a Miſtake, or that the Member's Hands are Counterfeited; for 'tis very unreaſonable to believe, the Makers of our Laws woud prevent their Execution; But be the Caſe one way or other, the Evil may be eaſily remedyed by the Members regiſtring the Names of their ſervants in the Houſe, at the beginning of the Seſſions and upon the Alteration of any.

That all manner of Courts in Corporations, whether by Grant or Preſcription, be taken away, becauſe of the many Abuſes dayly committed: and in every Corporation a Court of Merchants Erected, for the quic diſpatch and determination of all Controverſies relating to Trade and Commerce; every Man to be oblig'd to tel his own Story, without Charge or the Aſſiſtance of Atturneys or Lawyers. The Judges to be annually choſen five in number, together

gether with two Regiſters, one for the Plaintif, the other for the Defendant, out of the moſt experienced and beſt reputed Citizens, or Tradeſmen; no Salary or Fee to be paid to Judge or Officer.

To retrench, by Sumptuary Laws, the exceſſive wearing forrein Silks, Embroideries and Laces; to prohibit abſolutly the uſe of Silver and Gold-Lace, Gilding or Lackering Coaches, *&c.* When Riches are thus not ſo much us'd as abus'd, 'tis no wonder they do not only moulder into Duſt, but *take wing* (in *Solomon's* Phraſe) *and fly away:* Our wiſer Neighbors in *France* and *Holland* prevent this Evil: the Firſt make a Shew, but at an eaſy and cheap Rate; the later leave off their Cloaths, becauſe they are worn out, not that they are out of Faſhion: Our contrary Practice in imported Commodities make us complain, *That Trade is decaying*; in which our Folly has made us a By-word among the *French*, *As a People that conſume our All on the Back and the Belly*;

and if none ſpent more, the Miſchief were but particular; But many are not contented to run out their own Eſtates, but reſolve to have the Pleaſure of undoing others for Company. So long as we indulge our ſelves in this Vanity, we may indeed have the ſatisfaction (if it be any) to talk of mending Trade: but in ſpight of our Chat, it wil ſtil decay, we ſhal Buy and Sel more and more, and yet live by the Loſs, til at laſt we are wholy Broke. How long that wil be a doing, we may gueſs by the Fal of the Rents and Valu of Lands, not to be avoided while the Ballance of Trade is ſo much greater on the Imported ſide than the Exported. The way to make us Rich, is to manage our Trade in the ſame manner it was don in *Edward the Thirds* time; To make the Proportion of our Exports, exceed our Imports, as much as they then did; by an Account taken in the Seven and Twentyeth Year of that King (as *Cotton* ſayes) our exported Commodities amounted to 294184 Pound, the Imported but 38970 Pound; ſo that, the King-

Kingdom got clear in that Year 255214 Pound: By which it appears, that our preſent Trade is about thirty times greater than it was then, tho we complain of its Fal: 'Tis our own Fault, we are ſo imprudent as to conſume more of Forrein Goods, than we ſel of our own; this I am convinc'd we do in our *French* Trade, 'tis wel if we do not likewiſe play the Fool in others. By the way, you may obſerve, That if we woud but moderate our Expences, we might very wel bear our Taxes, tho they were near thirty times greater than in that Kings Reign, even with Allowance for the Alteration of Coyn.

That the Exportation of Mony in *ſpecie*, is ſo far from being a Loſs to the Kingdom, that it may be gainful, as it is to *Legorn* and other places: That tho we did not export any Coyn, yet we ſhoud not be the Richer; ſince the overballance woud ſtil lye as a Debt upon our Trade, which it muſt ſomtime or other pay in that or another Commodity, or otherwiſe Break.

And that the Council or Committee of Trade may find out the Wealth of the Kingdom, which woud ſerve to many good Purpoſes, by making a yearly Account of the Goods imported and exported (beſt known by the Cuſtoms, and has been Calculated by a Friend of mine in another Country) Theſe ought at leaſt every ſeven Years to be reviewd, (ſuppoſing the Life of Commodities not longer than that of Man). And, according to their Alterations of uſefulneſs or neceſſity, to our ſelves or others, the Impoſitions to be chang'd.

And here I muſt take leave to aſſert, That all imported Commodities are better reſtrain'd by the height of Impoſition, than by an abſolute Prohibition, if ſufficient Care be taken to oblige the Importers to a ful and ſtrict Payment; for this woud be a kind of Sumptuary Law, putting a neceſſity upon the Conſumer, by Labor to enlarge his Purſe, or by Thrift to leſſen his Expence. And I am the more induc'd to this, by my obſervation, that notwithſtanding the ſeveral

ral Acts, prohibiting the Importation of many forrein Commodities; yet nothing is more worn or us'd, especially the *French*, in which Trade, if the overballance (which is said to be above 1600000 Pound) were loaded with the Charge of eight Shillings in the Pound, it woud make the Consumption of those Commodities 640000 pound dearer; and if that woud not restrain our Folly, it woud help to ease us in the public Taxes; whereas now they are all imported without any other Charge, than what is paid for Smuckling, to tye up the Seamen's Tongues, and shut Officers Eyes. To prevent this, it were fit, that Men were undeceiv'd of the Notion they have taken up, That the Law do's allow 'um their Choice, either to pay the Duty, or the Penalty if taken; which sure cannot be the End of any Law, which designes Obedience and active Compliance with what it injoins, not a Disobedience or breaking what it positively commands. If Penal Statutes be only conditional, then the Traitor, the

Murderer or the Thief, when he ſuffers the Puniſhment of Diſobedience, may be cal'd an honeſt Man, and in another Signification than that of the *Scotch* Phraſe, *A juſtify'd Perſon. But the idle and unwarrantable Diſtinction of Active and Paſſive Obedience has don* England *greater Miſchiefs.* The Revenu Acts give not the ſame Liberty. that thoſe Acts do, which oblige the People to go to Church, or to Watch and Ward under pecuniary Mulcts. In theſe a Power of Chooſing was deſignedly left, which by many Circumſtances appears otherwiſe intended by the other. And indeed, the Practice is not only unjuſt, but abuſive to the whole Body of the People, who pay as dear for what they buy, as if the Duty had bin paid to the King, not put up in a few privat Mens Pockets. It may likewiſe hinder Trade; for if the Smuckler pleaſe, he may underſel his Neighbor, who honeſtly thinks, 'tis a Cheat and a Sin, not to *give* Cæſar *his Du:* Therefore, a Seal or ſom privat Mark ſhoud be contriv'd,

triv'd, for all ſorts of Commodities, and Power given to ſeize them when and where-ever met, in Merchants, Retailers or Conſumptioners Hands. And to prevent the paſſing forrein Commodities, as if made at Home, for which leſt any of theſe laſt ſhoud paſs, they ſhoud in the Town where they are made, or expos'd to Sale, be firſt mark'd or ſeal'd, in an Office purpoſely erected, without any Delay or Charge to the People.

That, that part of the Act of Navigation be repeal'd, which appoints three fourths of the Mariners to be *Engliſh*: why not *Scots*, *Iriſh* or any of the Kings Subjects, or even *Forreiners*, ſo the Ships do really belong to owners reſident in *England*? We want People, therefore ought to invite more, not reſtrain any. This Act is a Copy of that made by the *Long Parliament* and their General, the *Uſurper*, who being in War with *Scotland* and *Ireland* in rebellion, thought fit to deny them equal privileges in commerce. But this *Loyal Parliament* wil, I hope,

con-

consider, that the three Kingdoms are not to be thus divided in Interests, while under one Monarch. That his Naval Power, their joint strength, is increas'd by the growth of shipping in any of 'um. If the sence of this wil not prevail upon them, to allow 'um the same freedoms, yet sure I am, they must from thence perceive, *England* wil have a great advantage by suffering all the Kings subjects of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, to enjoy the benefit of this Act.

That there be two *Free Ports* appointed; one in the *South*, another in the *North*, with convenient rules and limitations. That the duty impos'd upon any of our exportations, whether of our own growth or manufacture of forrein materials, be not so high as may either wholy restrain those abroad from buying, or enable others to furnish them cheaper.

That education of Children in forrein parts in Colleges or Academies be prohibited, and Provision found or made at home for Teaching Languages and the exercises of Rideing, Fencing, *&c.*

That

That *Banks* and *Lombards* be ſpeedily Erected; this in a little time woud make a Hundred *pound* to be as uſeful to the *Public*, as two Hundred real Caſh is now. But in order thereunto, let there be a voluntary Regiſtry of Land, *&c.* which in a few years wil raiſe their valu conſiderably. By this way no man indebted or whoſe eſtate is incumbred is obliged to make diſcoveries. Yet if he has but half free, the Regiſtring of that, wil the better enable him to diſcharge the other part. If a *Regiſtry* muſt not be obtain'd, that, at leaſt, the ſelling or morgaging over and over, ſecret conveyances, Deeds of truſt or any other Trics, by which the Lender or Purchaſer is defrauded and abus'd, be made Felony, without benefit of Clergy; and the cheating perſon oblig'd to pay the ſufferer treble Dammage, and as much more to the Public. This, which certainly, all honeſt men judg as reaſonable, as what is practis'd for far ſmaller evils or offences, wil, without any innovation

novation in the Laws, or other alleg'd inconveniences to the People, ſecure us in our Rights, and perhaps anſwer al the ends of a *Regiſtry*; of which, tho very convenient, I am not ſo fond, as to think or believe, it wil ſo ſuddenly, or to that height, as is ſaid, raiſe the Rents and Valu of Lands; To this it can contribute but by accident, as it invites Strangers into the Kingdom (for I have already told you, that the greater or ſmaller number of People is the only tru cauſe of the dearneſs or cheapneſs of Land and of Labor or Trade) yet even this it cannot do, without aboliſhing the Law, diſabling *Aliens* to purchaſe and hold before *Naturalization*, neceſſary without diſpute to be immediatly taken away.

Nor woud it a little contribute to the general good, that all Merchants and Tradeſmen breaking ſhoud be made guilty of Felony, their goods to the Creditors, if they did not plainly make appear, by their true Books, their loſſes and diſcover what ever they have left

left, and without the unjuſt and cunning Artifices of compoſition, give way for an equal Divident among the Creditors. And that the many abuſes of the Kings Bench Priſon be reform'd, which, as now manag'd, is made a Santuary and place of Refuge and Privilege, for all Knaves that deſine their own privat Intereſt, to the ruin of others, whoſe confinement is no narrower than from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt Indies*.

That all Bonds and Bills obligatory, ſtatute Merchants and of the ſtaple, Recogniſances, Judgments, *&c.* be enacted transferable and by Indorſement to paſs as current as Bills of Exchange, and made recoverable by a ſhorter courſe of of Law, than now practis'd. That is to ſay, that upon actual proof of the perfecting and laſt aſſigning of the Deed, Judgment and Execution be obtaind. This wou'd wonderfully enliven trade, make a new *ſpecies* of Coyn, lower intereſt, ſecure in a great meaſure dealers from breaking, and find mony to carry

on

on the trades of *Fiſhing*, *Linnen*, *Woollen*, &c.

That til the propos'd regulation of the Laws can be effected, to avoid the trouble and charge of *Juries* in many caſes and other unjuſt vexations, the meets and bounds of the denominations of all Lands, Mannors, Pariſhes, Commons, Hundreds and Countyes, all preſcriptions, uſages and cuſtoms, and the Juriſdictions of all inferiour Courts be fully inquir'd into, and truely regiſtred in one Book or Books; copies to be Printed and the Original to be and remain of Record, as the *Doomsday* book in the *Exchequer*: By which all diſputes concerning the premiſes may be ſpeedily and cheaply decided.

There are but two Objections againſt this public good, and were they unanſwerable, yet ſince they are but particular and ſelfiſh conſiderations, they ought not to take place; The firſt is, That the uſeful and *laudable Calling* of the Lawyers, wil be prejudic'd. The next, that, the many, who now live upon

on Credit, wil be undon. As to the firſt, by this work the preſent Lawyers wil be ſo far from ſuffering, that for ten years to com rather than leſſen, it wil increaſe their buſineſs; which according to the ordinary computation of mens Lives, or their hopes of being promoted, wil be a greater advantage to them, than if things continu'd as they are: and for thoſe, who propoſe to themſelves this way of living, there wil be ſtil grounds enuff for the Practtiſe of ſom and many new imployments for others. So that if theſe Gentlemens preſent great Practiſe woud give them leave to look forwards, they woud find *they are more Scar'd than hurt*. As to the ſecond ſort, who likewiſe believe they may be damnifi'd, that fancy wil alſo vaniſh, if it be conſider'd, That it wil enlarge rather than deſtroy Credit. For we wil ſuppoſe, that a young Merchant or Tradeſman, who has 500. *pound* ſtock, does not trade for leſs than 2000. *pound*, the Merchant that ſells him the Commoditys upon the belief of his being

being honeſt, induſtrions, prudent and ſober, gives him Credit, and takes his Bond payable at a certain day; this Perſon, that he may be able duly to diſcharge his obligation, in like manner, truſts another, whom he ſuppoſes able and honeſt; for all receive credit as they really are or appear ſuch; as ſoon as his bond becomes du, he takes up his own, and gives that he receav'd to his creditor, who perhaps gives it to another to whom he is indebted; At laſt the mony is call'd for, from the Country Gentleman; the Country Gentleman gives him an aſſignment on his tenant, who either is or is not indebted; if the tenant owes the Mony, he payes it in *ſpecie*, or aſſignes him upon ſom Merchant, for the valu of commodities ſold him, the *fond* enabling him to pay his Land-lords Rent; and thus perhaps by a Circulation of traffic, for all Men from the higheſt to the loweſt are one way or other Merchants or Traders, the firſt man is pay'd with his own paper: If the tenant does not ow the Land-lord

the

the Mony, and therefore wil not pay, the Land-lord is immediately neceſſitated to ſel or Morgage ſom part of his eſtate; which if he refuſe, the Law forces him, and the Credits of the reſt are ſecur'd. The Conſequences are plainly theſe; That Men muſt be careful, with whom they deal; That they muſt be punctual & thrifty, leſt they firſt loſe their Credit, and afterwards becom Beggars: For, he that rightly conſiders, wil be convinc'd, That every Man in a Society or Common-wealth, even from the King to the Peſant, is a Merchant, and therefore under a neceſſity of taking care of his Reputation, not ſeldom a better Patrimony, than what deſcends to us from our Parent's Care. That by this Practice, the Kingdom wil gain an inexhauſtible Treaſure; and tho there were not a hundredth part of the Mony, be able to drive ten times a greater Trade, than now it does. A Man thus enabl'd, to Live and Trade without Mony, wil be in no need of running-out

his principal in Intereſt, by which too many for want of Conſideration, are inſenſibly undon, involving many more in their Ruin. Without theſe, or ſom other new Courſes, you may be aſſur'd, That our Trade, conſequently our Power, wil every Day decay, and in a few Years com to nothing.

But ſom imagin, that we need not trouble our ſelves in this Matter, it wil ſhortly fal in of Courſe to our Country; for that as Learning took its Circuit thro ſeveral parts of the World, beginning at the *Eaſt*, ſo muſt Trade too: but who-ever believes this wil com to paſs without Human Means, Labor and Art, entertains wrong Notions of Providence.

I do believe the great Wheel is always in Motion; and tho there be a conſtant Circumgyration of things, yet 'tis idle to fancy, that any thing, but Troubles or War, Oppreſſion or Injuſtice, Wit or Induſtry makes Trade or Learning ſhift their Places in the ſame Country, or alter their abode from that to any other.

If

If we look into Hiſtories, we ſhal find theſe have bin the Cauſes of their Migration; and that Trade and Learning, uſually go hand in hand together.

Having already aſſerted, that Trade and Commerce are to be improv'd and carry'd on, the more vigorouſly, by how much the more Labor and Thrift are increas'd; and that the making Idlers work, is in effect, an increaſing the People: And that all ſuch ſhoud be forc'd into ſeveral Work-houſes, which tho the Parliament has taken into conſideration, yet for want of Stock, is not hitherto put in any forwardneſs, I wil now give you my Thoughts, how this may probably be brought about, with little or no Charge, but to ſuch only, as upon proſpect of Advantage, do change the Scenes of their Lives, as by Marriage, Imployments, Callings, *&c.* or by aſſuming new Titles and Degrees of Honor; and conſequently as their reſpective Proportions, or Payments are here propos'd, they cannot account them burdenſom or grievous.

To perfect this, I think it neceſſary, That all Hoſpitals, Almſ-houſes and Lands for charitable uſes, be ſold, & more ſtately and convenient Ones erected; into which, none but diſeaſed Perſons, or others perfectly unable to Earn their Living, ſhoud be receiv'd. And to the end they might the ſooner be Reſtor'd to Health, a convenient number of *Phyſitians*, *Nurſes* and *Tenders* ought to be appointed, and ſufficient Salaries eſtabliſh'd; *England*, to Her great ſhame, is in this Inſtance, much behind Her Neighbors of *France* and *Holland*; in the Practice of which, I know not whether there be more of Charity, or of Policy, of Heavenly or of Earthly Intereſt.

That the ſeveral Directions of the Act, for raiſing a Stock, be ſtrictly put in Execution. That all Fines for *Swearing*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Breaches of the Peace*, *Felons Goods*, *Deodands*, &c. for a certain number of Years be converted to this Uſe; This woud bring in twenty times more than is now receiv'd on theſe Accounts and may perhaps prevent the late much

practis'd

practis'd *trick* of finding all *Felo's de se* mad. That all *Contributions* for maintenance of the Poor (which are so considerable, that I have bin told, in som single Parishes in *London*, they amount *communibus annis*, to Five thousand Pound a Year) be added to this *Stock*. And that it be further enacted, That every Man at his Admission to *Freedom*, pay one Shilling; upon *Marriage*, what he thinks fit above one Shilling. Every *Clergy-man* at *Ordination*, ten Shillings, at *Instalment* into any *Dignity*, twenty Shillings; *Arch-Deacons*, three Pound; *Deans*, five Pound; *Bishops*, ten Pound; *Arch-Bishops*, twenty Pound. *Gentlemen* upon Admittance into the *Inns of Court*, ten Shillings; upon their being call'd to the *Bar* forty Shillings; when made *Serjeants*, or *King's Council*, five Pound. Every Man upon Admission into the *Inns of Chancery*, three Shillings four Pence; when Sworn *Attorney*, ten Shillings. Lord *High Chancellor*, *Keeper*, Lord *High Treasurer*, and Lord *Privy Seal*, twenty Pound. *Chief Justice*, *Chief Baron*, *Chan-*

cellor of the *Exchequer*, *Maſter* of the *Rolls* and *Atturney General*, twelve Pound a piece. Every of the other *Judges* and *Barons*, the *Sollicitor-General* and the *Six Clerks*, ten Pound a piece. The *Maſters* of *Chancery* and other Officers not nam'd in that or other Courts, any Sum not exceeding ſix Pound a Man, as ſhal be thought convenient, by the reſpective Judges. All *Knights*, five Pound; *Baronets*, ten Pound; *Barons*, *Vice Counts*, *Earls*, twenty Pound; *Dukes* and *Marqueſſes*, fifty Pound. All *Aldermen* of *London*, twenty Pound; of other *Cities* and *Corporations*, three Pound. *Mayors*, ten Pound. All *Maſters* of *Arts* in *Univerſities*, twenty Shillings. *Doctors* of *Law* and *Phyſic*, forty Shillings; of *Divinity*, four Pound. *Heads* and *Maſters* of *Colleges*, five Pound. All *Executors* and *Adminiſtrators*, that undertake the Charge, two Shillings. All Perſons entring into *Eſtates*, either by Deſcent or Purchaſe, one Shilling, over and above one Shilling, for every hundred Pounds *per annum* of ſuch Eſtate. That every *Sunday*, there

there be Collections in all Churches of the Kingdom, which with what ſhal be receiv'd at the *Communion*, are to be thus appropriated: And that all *Street*, *Door*, and other Charitable *Doles*, in broken Meat or Mony, as the great Encouragements and chief occaſions of *Idleneſs* and *Vice*, be forbid under ſevere Penalties; That *Briefs* be iſſued thro the Kingdom, for voluntary Contributions; That the Names of ſuch as ſhal be eminently Bountiful, be convey'd to *Poſterity*, by placeing their *Coats* of *Arms*, and regiſtring their Munificence in the reſpective Workhouſes of the City, Corporation or County, where they live. I do not doubt, but in a very ſhort time, a Stock woud be thus rais'd, ſufficient to imploy all the idle Hands in *England*. And tho I believe, that after a little while, there woud be no need of uſing Art, or Severity in bringing People into theſe *Nurſeries* of Labor and Induſtry: The Sweets of gain and trouble of Idleneſs, which certainly is not the leaſt of toyls to ſuch as have bin inur'd to Labor or Buſineſs,

being of themſelves ſtrong Allurements; yet to lay the firſt Foundation with ſucceſs, I conceive it neceſſary, That both Men and Women, who have no viſible ways of Maintenance, Criminals of what Quality ſoever, puniſh'd as before in the *Diſcourſe of Laws*, the Children taken out of the *Foundlings Hoſpital*, as ſoon as able to do any thing, be all ſent to theſe Work-houſes. That the great numbers of People going out of this Kingdom, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to other Parts of *Europe*, be reſtrain'd, and none be ſpirited into the *Weſt-Indies*, or ſuffer'd to go abroad, unleſs to trade. That ſuch as by Infirmity or Age are abſolutely diſabled, among which neither the Lame nor the Blind are to be reckon'd, be maintain'd and confin'd within the public Hoſpitals. That every Conſtable, in whoſe *Ward* or *Precinct* any Beggar is found, forfeit twenty Pound; and the Perſon or Perſons entertaining or lodging any, five Pound, to the Uſe of the Work-Houſe.

That

That thoſe who are commonly ſent to the *Houſe of Correction*, or *Bridewel*, and thoſe found Guilty of *Petty Larceny*, be ſent to the Work-Houſe; For that indeed Whipping, the Puniſhment intended for their Amendment, does but take away the ſenſe of Shame and Honor, rendring them Impudent and Incorrigible in their Iniquities. But granting its operation ſo forcible, as to be able to reclaim them, yet certain it is, that its beſt effect is, but to hinder them from doing further Miſchief; whereas by this Courſe, not only that will be avoided, but a conſiderable profit redound to the *Public*. To theſe alſo ſhoud be added all Priſoners for Criminal matters tho acquitted, if by Circumſtances they appear ſuſpicious; it being reaſonable to conclude ſom, Rogues and Vagabonds, tho the evidence required by ſtrictneſs of Law, be not ſtrong enuf to Convict them. Hither likewiſe are all to be ſent, who for trivial inconſiderable cauſes, and ſomtimes out of pure Malice, are thrown into Priſons, and there forc'd to ſpend the remainder

mainder of their miſerable Lives; the exorbitant extortion of Fees, and the mercileſs rage of their Enemies, ſwelling their Debts beyond the power, or hopes of Satisfaction; whereby they becom not only uſeleſs, but a *burden* to the Common-wealth. And becauſe the *Benefit of Clergy* was introduc'd, for the advancement of Learning in the ruder dayes of our Anceſtors, and that there is now no ſuch need, the Kingdom being ſo far from wanting, that it is rather Overſtockt in every Faculty, with ſuch as make Learning a *Trade*: and the intercourſe of our Affairs almoſt neceſſitating all others to Read and Write, I hold it convenient to take it quite away; not only becauſe uſeleſs, but becauſe it is an encouragement to many, to trangreſs the bounds of the Law. That all of what degree or condition ſoever, Men or Women, literat or illiterat, convicted of any of the Crimes for which *Clergy* is now allow'd, be condem'd to the Work-Houſes for Seven Years, or pay to its Uſe ſixty Pounds or more, according to their Qualities.

By

By what I have already ſaid, you ſee I am no friend to *Pardons*; but if any muſt ſtill be granted, that then any not a Gentleman obtaining one, pay *Twenty Pound*, a *Gentleman* Forty Pound, an *Eſquire* Sixty Pound, a *Knight-Batchellor* Eighty Pound, a *Baronet* or other *Knight* One Hundred Pound, a *Lord* Two Hundred Pound, a *Marqueſs* or *Duke* Four Hundred Pound. The Eldeſt Sons of every of theſe to pay equal with the Fathers. And in caſe after all this People ſhoud be wanting, *Ireland* may furniſh yearly, Hundreds or Thouſands of its Children; which will prove not only advantageous for Encreaſing the Wealth of *England*, but alſo for ſecuring the Peace and Quiet of that Kingdom; by making ſo many of the *Natives* one and the ſame People with us, which they will ſoon be, if taken away ſo Young, as that they may forget their *Fathers Houſe* and *Language*. And if, after ſeven, eight or nine Years, when Maſters of their Trade, return'd into their own, or ſuffer'd to abide in this Country.

I will not trouble you with recounting in particular, the many advantages that wou'd ſoon flow thro all the Tracts of this Land, from this ſource of Induſtry, if thus ſupply'd with Mony and Hands. All Trades and uſeful Manufactures of *Silks*, *Linnen*, *Canvaſs*, *Lace*, *Paper*, *Cordage* for *Ships*, *Iron*, *Tin*, &c. may be there ſet on foot, and carryed on to a far greater profit, than ſingle men can drive them. In this Work-Houſe ſhoud be Taught, the knowledg of *Arms*, and the *Arts* of *War*, on all *Feſtivals* and *Holy Dayes*; and the luſty young Fellows ſent by turns to Sea, for a year or two of the Time of this their *State-Apprentiſhip*. By this means the King woud be enabled at any time without Preſſing, to draw out of this great *Seminary* a ſufficient Army, either for Land or Sea-ſervice.

The wayes, methods and orders for Regulating the ſeveral Work-Houſes I coud fully demonſtrat, did I not think it needleſs at preſent. 'Tis enuf that I here Promiſe to do it at any time when the *Great Council* ſhall think fit to take this mat-

matter into Conſideration, or when you pleaſe to impoſe your further Commands. But give me leave to ſay, That laying aſide all other Reformations of the *State*, this alone woud ſecure our Lives and Fortunes, from Violence and Depredation, not only increaſe our Wealth and Power beyond what now it is, but make them far exceed, whatever any of our Neighbors are poſſeſt of; and conſequently eſtabliſh a firm and laſting Peace at Home, and make us terrible to the Nations abroad. This great Happineſs is the Wiſh of every tru *Engliſh-man*, but can only be effected, by the Care and Wiſdom of the King and Parliament; to whom I moſt paſſionatly recommend and humbly ſubmit it.

I have now at length run thro all the parts, of my uneaſy *Task*; you wil ſay, I doubt not, very Slubberingly; to be before hand with you, I do confeſs it; I never undertook any thing more unwillingly, & therefore have perform'd it, not only il, but careleſly, ſtudying nothing ſo much, as to com quicly to an end; which

which indeed was my greateſt Labor; the fields you commanded me to take a turn in, were ſo ſpacious, that being once enter'd, conſidering how ſhort a while you oblig'd me to ſtay, I coud not eaſily find my way out again; which put me to a neceſſity of running, and the haſt not giving me leave to ſee the Rubbs in my way, forc'd me to ſtumble: What I have don can ſerve to no other purpoſe, than for hints to enlarge your better thoughts upon.

Had theſe Papers bin Worthy, I woud have preſented them by way of New-years Gift; but that was not my fault; moſt of what you meet with here, we have often diſcourſed with our —— You muſt not read them to any other: For I am perſwaded they woud tel you *the Man was Mad*: Perhaps I was ſo for Writing, but I am ſure I have yet *madder* thoughts, For I do ſeriouſly believe all I have here ſaid is tru; and this to boot, That, *the World is a great Cheat*; That *an honeſt man, or a good Chriſtian is a greater Wonder, than any of thoſe ſtrange ones,*

ones, with which Sir *H. B.* has often entertain'd us. This you are ſure of, I have ſpoken nothing for Intereſt; I am but a bare ſtander by, no *Better*, and therefore neither win nor looſe, let the Game go how it wil. But to trifle no more, I am not concern'd what any think; I live to my ſelf, not others, and build not my ſatisfaction, upon the empty and uncertain Vogue, or Opinion of men; If I did, I ſhould put into their Power, to make me unhappy, when ever they pleaſe.

To conclude, The Reſult of all I have here ſaid is, That *England might be the happieſt Country in the World*, if the people woud be content to make a right uſe of their Power; that is, to Act by the Rules of Reaſon, on which their own Conſtitutions are founded: For ſince they have the power of Reforming the old and enacting new Laws, in which every man (the pooreſt that is worth but forty ſhillings *per annum*) has his Vote, no man can be offended, with his own Act; But if he be, the Remedy is at hand.

hand. So that here every one living according to Reaſon, and that making every man a Judge, all muſt ſee to their great Comfort, That the Intereſt of the King and People is really one and the ſame; That the Common good is every ſingle mans; And that who ever diſturbs the Public, injures himſelf; which is to the whole the greateſt ſecurity imaginable, and to every privat man a laſting Happineſs.

That *the Laws are not exact*, becauſe the Parliament harken to the Counſel that, not the Lawyers, but their Intereſt dictates; neglecting to follow that advice, which they may have for nothing, "*viz. Let the Counſel of thine own Heart* "*ſtand, for there is no Man more faith-*"*ful unto thee than it*: For, *a Mans mind* "*is wont to tell him more, than ſeven* "*Watch-men, that ſit above in an high* "*Tower.* That is, conſult with no Man who adviſes with regard to himſelf; which is plain from theſe Words. "*E-*"*very Counſellor extolleth Counſel; but* "*there is that counſelleth for himſelf; be-*

ware

'ware therefore of a Counſellor; and 'know before what need he hath, 'for he wil Counſel for himſelf; 'leſt he caſt the Lot upon thee and ſay 'unto thee Thy way is good, and after-'wards he ſtand on the other ſide to ſee 'what ſhal befal thee. Whether this be a Prophecy of what the Lawyers will do: or a bare Narration of matter of Fact, what they daily Practiſe, I leave to every diſcerning mans Judgment.

The Short of this, is to adviſe, That in making of New Laws, or in altering or repealing the Old, the Members truſt not the Gentlemen of the long Robe, unleſs they promiſe to joyn the *Law* and the *Goſpel*; To give their Advice *without Mony, or the Hopes of Gain:* And yet if their Charity or Generoſity ſhoud perſwade them to undertake the *Cauſe* thus in *forma Pauperis*, That they give ſufficient ſecurity, not to *ſtarve* it; That is, not to be back-ward in their giving Advice according to Conſcience, not Intereſt.

When this is don, we are not ſecur'd unleſs the Parliament provide That *no infringer of the Laws be Pardon'd*; that is to ſay, That equal Juſtice be diſtributed, making no diſtinction between the Perſons of the higheſt and the loweſt, when their Crimes have made them equal. Which can't probably be otherwiſe effected, than by conſtituting, as is don in *Venice*, a new Magiſtracy of *public Cenſors*, who ſhal have inſpection into the actions of all the Courts of Judicature, and public Offices whatſoever; whoſe Account ſhal by the Parliament be receiv'd as Authentic, and make the Offenders Obnoxious to degradations and pecuniary Mulcts, to the ſatisfaction of the injur'd and a farther overplus to the Public, unleſs in their judgments the accuſed fairly acquit themſelves.

That *Religion*, as now manag'd, is made an Art or Trade to live by, and to enable the Profeſſors to abuſe the Credulous and Unwary. That if Intreſt be not remov'd, and not Opinions,

ons, but a *good Life* be the Character to diſtinguiſh real Chriſtians, from thoſe who pretend themſelves ſuch, we ſhal never have Peace here, nor aſſurance of Happineſs hereafter. That in granting *Liberty of Conſcience* Clergy Mens Advice is not to be harkn'd to, unleſs they wil reſine their Livings and Diſpute only for Truth. That *Toleration* is at this time, more eſpecially, for three great Reaſons abſolutely convenient; *Firſt*, to unite us at Home; *next* to enable us now and hereafter to reſiſt the Power of *France*; This certainly requires all our Strength which without Union we cannot have: The *Third* and great Reaſon, To Advance our Trade.

That the *French are to be ſtopt* in their Career; That to do ſo, it is neceſſary, a large and ſufficient *Revenu*, for ever (if it be don wiſely) be fixt and ſetl'd on the *Crown*, on the *State*; I do not ſay, on the *Perſon* of the *King*, for He is indeed, if rightly conſider'd, but God's Steward, and has ſo great a

ſhare in the trouble, that it is an unreſolved Queſtion, notwithſtanding all his Glory and Power, Whether the Roſes of the Crown make amends for its Thornes, and, Whether the Softneſs of any Lining can eaſe the weight of the Burden He undergoes; whoſe Nights and Dayes are made reſtleſs, by the Preſſures of that mighty Care, to which, by the ſafety of three Kingdoms, He is continually ſollicited. *If half a Loaf* (as they ſay) *be better than no Bread*, 'tis more eligible to part with ſom, than to expoſe all to the Mercy of an Enemy and Conqueror; from whom the greateſt Favor we can expect, is to becom, not a *ſubordinat Kingdom*, but an *enſlaved Province*.

That *Trade*, is to be promoted, by all poſſible Care and Diligence, becauſe by that we muſt be enabled to pay our *Taxes*; without which, we cannot withſtand Forrein Violence. That Trade is to be better'd, by inviting more People into the Kingdom and employing all the idle Hands we already have: That this is to be effected, by propoſing Advantages and Re-

Rewards to Strangers; fit Employments, Threats and Punishments to Natives, by ascertaining all, Ease and Security in their Persons, Estates and Purchases, by an uninterrupted and speedy course of Justice, firmly establishing the three great satisfactory Desirables, *Liberty*, *Property* and *Religion*.

Salus Populi suprema Lex.

From——this 4th. of *January*, $167\frac{7}{8}$.

SIR,

I am, &c.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

The Reader *is desir'd, before he runs thro this Discourse, to mend with his* Pen, *these few* Errata's, *which are all that alter the Sense.*

IN the Title Page for (*Member in*) read *Member of*. p. 2. to the Reader l. 2, r. *unfashionable rigid Vertu*. p. 21. l. 15. r. *destructive*. p. 28. l. 3. r. *Grace* or *Policy*. p. 63. l. 3. r. *actual Summons*. p. 69. l. 4. r. *arising*. p. 91. l. 19. r. *a Red Sea* p. 118. l. 20. r. *finesse*. p. 122. l. 10. for (*unequal*) r. *uneasy*. p. 145. l. 7. r. *claim a greater*. p. 149. last Line, for (*make*) r. *may*. p. 190. l. 9. r. *many many*.

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

RISE & POWER

OF

Parliaments,

OF

Law's, of Courts of Judicature, of Liberty, Property, and Religion, of the Interest of *England* in reference to the Designs of *France*; of Taxes and of Trade.

X. 28. 44

By

Thos Sheridan

In a Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to a Member of *Parliament*.

Salus Populi Suprema lex esto.

Printed in the Year, 1677.

may be policy too; for then perhaps, they need never fear their Diſſolution, notwithſtanding the clamors and many mouths now open againſt them.

But if it ſhal be not thought fit, to take away all Companies, why ſhoud it not be lawful once a Year for any one, that pleas'd, to be made a Member, paying in his *quota*? This, I confeſs, woud make it uſeful to the Public, becauſe the Trade woud be manag'd by fewer Hands, conſequently to more Profit, and every one being concern'd, there coud be no Complaint.

But whatever is don in point of Trade, particular Corporations of Artificers ought to be broke; they, as now manag'd, are Incouragements to Idleneſs, Impoſitions upon the reſt of the People, and an unreaſonable enſlaving of Apprentices, who in three Years, for the moſt part, may be as wel Maſters of their Trade, as in ſeven: But the Advantage is, that when they com to Set up for themſelves, they commonly turn Gentlemen, and cannot afford to ſel a

Ca-

Cabinet under fifteen Pound, becauſe they muſt eat wel and drink Wine; tho they own a *Dutch-man* or a *French-man*, that does not ſo, may afford as good a one for twelve Pound: This of the Cabinet is a late and a true Story, and to my own Experience, 'tis the ſame in moſt, if not all other Trades.

The *Fiſh-monger's* Company is of all others, the greateſt Nuſance to the Public, to the moſt uſeful Part thereof, the poor Artificers and Laborers; I was credibly inform'd at my laſt being in *London*, by two ſubſtantial Citizens, That they throw part of their *Fiſh* away, to inhaunſe the valu and price of the Remainder.

That for theſe, and many more Reaſons I coud give, it were convenient, that every City and Town corporate conſiſted but of one Company, into which, without Charge or Formalities of Freedom, every man Native or Alien, ought to be admitted, that payes his propotion of *Taxes* and *Aſſeſsments*.

And in order to the bringing in Forreiners,

ers, our Native unmanufactur'd Commodities ought to be ſtrictly prohibited to other Countries; more particularly that the Exportation of Wool from *England* and *Ireland* be reſtrain'd; which wil be better don by impoſing a vaſt Duty upon it, as of thirty or forty Shillings a *Stone* or *Tod*, than by making it Felony; adding over and above great Pecuniary Mulcts, if ſhipt without Payment of Duty; If this were Enacted, many woud turn Informers, who now out of tenderneſs of Mens Lives, forbear the diſcovering this injurious Practice; for prevention whereof, great Care ought to be taken; ſince the vaſt quantities of Wool exported from *England* and *Ireland* into *France* and *Holland*, have in a manner deſtroy'd the great Staple of *England*, the Woolen-Manufacture, *lower'd* the *Rents* of *Land*, and *beggar'd thouſands of People*. By this the *Dutch* and *French* are inabled to make uſeful both *their own* and *Spaniſh* Wools, which woud otherwiſe be inſignificant and ineffective of any conſiderable Purpoſes; one being too Fine, the other too Courſe,

Courſe, without Mixtures of *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* Wool.

Thoſe, by greater labor and frugality, who heretofore were furniſht by us, do now not only ſupply themſelves, but alſo underſel us abroad; and as if that injury were too little, we are content, by wearing their Stuffs, to give them an opportunity of undermining us at home. If you conſider theſe things ſeriouſly, you wil with me be perſwaded, 'tis not the great increaſe of Wool, in *England* and *Ireland*, that makes it a *Drug*, but the Practiſe of carrying it abroad; and our not being ſatisfi'd to *ape* and *Mimic* the *French* Modes, but further to wear their Stuffs, tho far inferior to our own.

I have heard it demonſtrated, by knowing men, that it woud be *Englands* great intereſt, to work up all their own and *Iriſh* Wool, tho they ſhoud afterwards burn it when in Stuffs and Cloth; and I am convinc'd their doing ſo one year, woud not only maintain the Poor and habituat them to Labor, but be as great

great an advantage in the ſale of that Manufacture, both at home and abroad, for the future, as the burning part of their Spices, is to the *Dutch*. But I am of Opinion there woud be no need to burn any, for that which is now uſeful in Wool, woud not be leſs ſo in Cloth. I have ſeen a computation by which it appears the working up all our own and *Iriſh* Wool, which *England* can do to better purpoſes than a part, while the remainder is Tranſported to other Countries, woud be many Millions in the Wealth of the People, and as many Hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling* in the Kings Coffers. For if we kept this Commodity at home, we ſhoud not only give a ful employment to our People, but neceſſitat thoſe who now in *France* and *Holland* maintain themſelves by this Manufacture, ſo ſoon as their ſtocks were ſpent, to find new Arts of living, or elſe convey themſelves hither, which of the two, is certainly the moſt probable. Thus we ſhoud doubly increaſe our Wealth and our People; the latter

latter by Conſequence raiſing the Rents and valu of Lands, in duplicat proportion (as I coud demonſtrat) to what they now yield. For a ſhort inſtance obſerve, That if there be a thouſand People in a Country, the Land whereof is worth a thouſand pound *Per Annum*; and at twenty years purchaſe twenty thouſand *pounds*. If they be encreas'd half as many more, or to one thouſand five Hundred People, the Rent of the Land wil likewiſe be half as much more *viz.* one Thouſand five Hundred *pound*, and the number of years purchas not only twenty, but half as many more, *viz.* in all thirty; which makes the valu of the inheritance amount to thirty times one thouſand five hundred or forty five Thouſand *Pound*. The reaſon of which is founded on this undeniable Maxim, *That Land is more or leſs valuable, as it is more or leſs Peopl'd.* When heretofore all the Wool of *England* was Manufactur'd in *Flanders*, it yielded but ſix pence a pound; but ſoon after the reſtraint of it in *Edward* the *Thirds* time, the manufacturing all

at

at home, rais'd it to eighteen pence a Pound, and brought in to the Kingdom great numbers of *Flemmings* and *Walloons*. To incourage this further, all perſons whatſoever ſhoud wear nothing but Stuff and Cloath of our own make; the Ladies to have liberty to wear Silk but in Summer. I am told that within theſe ſix months, to encourage a Woollen Manufacture newly ſet up in *Portugal*, no man, Native or Stranger, is ſuffered to appear at Court in any other.

That uſeful neglected Act, of Burying in Woollen, ſhoud be ſtrictly put in execution; not prohibiting the People, if they wil be ſo fooliſh (but probably a little time wil make them wiſer, than) to throw away linnen too, which if they woud make at home, might be the more tolerable: The way I conceive by which it may be eaſily don, is, to injoyn the Miniſter under penalty of deprivation, with allowance of Mony to the Informers, not to bury any one, whoſe Corps or Coffin, they do not ſee cover'd with Flannel. And ſince *Death* is

ſaid

ſaid to be the Siſter of *Sleep*, or rather ſince *Sleep* is the repreſentative of *Death* as our Beds are of our Grave, or indeed, that *Death* is but a very long Night, if we ſhoud not only Bury, but ly in Flannel Sheets, at leaſt the long cold Winter Nights, I have bin aſſur'd by our old Friend — That this Practiſe, after a little uſe, woud be found no leſs for the health, if not ſom voluptuouſneſs of our natural Bodies, than the other woud prove for the Body Politic; and I am the more induc'd to believe this aſſertion, becauſe Phyſitians preſcribe Flannel Shirts to ſom perſons for their Health; I am certain the more ways are found for the Conſumption of this Manufacture, the Richer our Country woud grow, by leſſning the uſe of Forrein Linnen, ſo greatly advantageous to our Neighbors of *France*; whom we love ſo dearly, that we ſtudy how to ſerve and enrich them, tho to our own impoveriſhment and Ruin.

Beſides this Courſe, not a lock of Wool ſhoud be permitted into the Iſlands of *Jerſy*, *Guern-*

Guernſey; *Aldarney* or *Sark*; under colour of what is allow'd, they are enabled, to ſupply their own occaſions, and carry much more (of which I am wel aſſur'd) to *France*; which reaps the benefit of the great induſtry of thoſe populous Iſlands; to make them beneficial, at leaſt not hurtful, to *England*, is to deny them Wool; if that woud bring the People thence into this Country, it wil prove a double advantage. And laſtly, I think the only certainty of keeping our Wool from Forreiners, is to erect a Company by the Name of *State Merchants*, or Oblige the *Eaſt-India* Company, whoſe Stock and Credit wil enable them with eaſe, to buy up at good rates yearly, all the Wool of *England* and *Ireland*; which manufactur'd at home, woud bring them in a little time, as profitable returns, as thoſe from *Bantam*, *&c.* be many Millions in the Riches of the People, by raiſing the Rents, *&c.* and Hundred Thouſands in the Kings *Exchequer*, employ Thouſands of our Poor now ſtarving, and invite in many of other

other Nations to the great encreaſe of our Strength and Wealth, and ſo prove no leſs a particular than an univerſal good.

That all Foreſtallers, Regrators and Higlers be prevented, who now doe as much miſcheif to the City of *London*, as formerly purveiance did the Kingdom.

That the preſent confus'd buſineſs of weights and meaſures, which appears by many ſtatutes to have bin the care of our anceſtors, be fully aſcertain'd and adjuſted. And becauſe this does greatly tend to the regulation of trade and adminiſtration of Juſtice, it were convenient particular perſons were impower'd, who ſhoud receive complaints and correct abuſes, in thoſe and all other penal ſtatutes referring to trade, by ſome more ſpeedy courſe than that of information or indictment, *&c.*

That no particular Perſon or Incorporations have any places priviledg'd againſt the Kings Writs.

That the Parliament woud be pleas'd to redreſs the great Obſtruction of Juſ-

tice by Protections, of which no leſs than ſixteen Thouſand are ſaid to be given in and about *London*. I am perſwaded that either the Report is a Miſtake, or that the Member's Hands are Counterfeited; for 'tis very unreaſonable to believe, the Makers of our Laws woud prevent their Execution; But be the Caſe one way or other, the Evil may be eaſily remedyed by the Members regiſtring the Names of their ſervants in the Houſe, at the beginning of the Seſſions and upon the Alteration of any.

That all manner of Courts in Corporations, whether by Grant or Preſcription, be taken away, becauſe of the many Abuſes dayly committed: and in every Corporation a Court of Merchants Erected, for the quic diſpatch and determination of all Controverſies relating to Trade and Commerce; every Man to be oblig'd to tel his own Story, without Charge or the Aſſiſtance of Atturneys or Lawyers. The Judges to be annually choſen five in number, together

gether with two Regiſters, one for the Plaintif, the other for the Defendant, out of the moſt experienced and beſt reputed Citizens, or Tradeſmen; no Salary or Fee to be paid to Judge or Officer.

To retrench, by Sumptuary Laws, the exceſſive wearing forrein Silks, Embroideries and Laces; to prohibit abſolutly the uſe of Silver and Gold-Lace, Gilding or Lackering Coaches, *&c.* When Riches are thus not ſo much us'd as abus'd, 'tis no wonder they do not only moulder into Duſt, but *take wing* (in *Solomon's* Phraſe) *and fly away:* Our wiſer Neighbors in *France* and *Holland* prevent this Evil: the Firſt make a Shew, but at an eaſy and cheap Rate; the later leave off their Cloaths, becauſe they are worn out, not that they are out of Faſhion: Our contrary Practice in imported Commodities make us complain, *That Trade is decaying*; in which our Folly has made us a By-word among the *French*, *As a People that conſume our All on the Back and the Belly*;

and if none ſpent more, the Miſchief were but particular; But many are not contented to run out their own Eſtates, but reſolve to have the Pleaſure of undoing others for Company. So long as we indulge our ſelves in this Vanity, we may indeed have the ſatisfaction (if it be any) to talk of mending Trade: but in ſpight of our Chat, it wil ſtil decay, we ſhal Buy and Sel more and more, and yet live by the Loſs, til at laſt we are wholy Broke. How long that wil be a doing, we may gueſs by the Fal of the Rents and Valu of Lands, not to be avoided while the Ballance of Trade is ſo much greater on the Imported ſide than the Exported. The way to make us Rich, is to manage our Trade in the ſame manner it was don in *Edward the Thirds* time; To make the Proportion of our Exports, exceed our Imports, as much as they then did; by an Aecount taken in the Seven and Twentyeth Year of that King (as *Cotton* ſayes) our exported Commodities amounted to 294184 Pound, the Imported but 38970 Pound; ſo that, the King-

Kingdom got clear in that Year 255214 Pound: By which it appears, that our preſent Trade is about thirty times greater than it was then, tho we complain of its Fal: 'Tis our own Fault, we are ſo imprudent as to conſume more of Forrein Goods, than we ſel of our own; this I am convinc'd we do in our *French* Trade, 'tis wel if we do not likewiſe play the Fool in others. By the way, you may obſerve, That if we woud but moderate our Expences, we might very wel bear our Taxes, tho they were near thirty times greater than in that Kings Reign, even with Allowance for the Alteration of Coyn.

That the Exportation of Mony in *ſpecie*, is ſo far from being a Loſs to the Kingdom, that it may be gainful, as it is to *Legorn* and other places: That tho we did not export any Coyn, yet we ſhoud not be the Richer; ſince the overballance woud ſtil lye as a Debt upon our Trade, which it muſt ſomtime or other pay in that or another Commodity, or otherwiſe Break.

And that the Council or Committee of Trade may find out the Wealth of the Kingdom, which woud ſerve to many good Purpoſes, by making a yearly Account of the Goods imported and exported (beſt known by the Cuſtoms, and has been Calculated by a Friend of mine in another Country) Theſe ought at leaſt every ſeven Years to be reviewd, (ſuppoſing the Life of Commodities not longer than that of Man). And, according to their Alterations of uſefulneſs or neceſſity, to our ſelves or others, the Impoſitions to be chang'd.

And here I muſt take leave to aſſert, That all imported Commodities are better reſtrain'd by the height of Impoſition, than by an abſolute Prohibition, if ſufficient Care be taken to oblige the Importers to a ful and ſtrict Payment; for this woud be a kind of Sumptuary Law, putting a neceſſity upon the Conſumer, by Labor to enlarge his Purſe, or by Thrift to leſſen his Expence. And I am the more induc'd to this, by my obſervation, that notwithſtanding the ſeveral

ral Acts, prohibiting the Importation of many forrein Commodities; yet nothing is more worn or us'd, especially the *French*, in which Trade, if the overballance (which is said to be above 1600000 Pound) were loaded with the Charge of eight Shillings in the Pound, it woud make the Consumption of those Commodities 640000 pound dearer; and if that woud not restrain our Folly, it woud help to ease us in the public Taxes; whereas now they are all imported without any other Charge, than what is paid for Smuckling, to tye up the Seamen's Tongues, and shut Officers Eyes. To prevent this, it were fit, that Men were undeceiv'd of the Notion they have taken up, That the Law do's allow 'um their Choice, either to pay the Duty, or the Penalty if taken; which sure cannot be the End of any Law, which designes Obedience and active Compliance with what it injoins, not a Disobedience or breaking what it positively commands. If Penal Statutes be only conditional, then the Traitor, the

Murderer or the Thief, when he ſuffers the Puniſhment of Diſobedience, may be cal'd an honeſt Man, and in another Signification than that of the *Scotch* Phraſe, *A juſtify'd Perſon. But the idle and unwarrantable Diſtinction of Active and Paſſive Obedience has don* England *greater Miſchiefs.* The Revenu Acts give not the ſame Liberty. that thoſe Acts do, which oblige the People to go to Church, or to Watch and Ward under pecuniary Mulcts. In theſe a Power of Chooſing was deſignedly left, which by many Circumſtances appears otherwiſe intended by the other. And indeed, the Practice is not only unjuſt, but abuſive to the whole Body of the People, who pay as dear for what they buy, as if the Duty had bin paid to the King, not put up in a few privat Mens Pockets. It may likewiſe hinder Trade; for if the Smuckler pleaſe, he may underſel his Neighbor, who honeſtly thinks, 'tis a Cheat and a Sin, not to *give* Cæſar *his Du:* Therefore, a Seal or ſom privat Mark ſhoud be contriv'd,

triv'd, for all ſorts of Commodities, and Power given to ſeize them when and where-ever met, in Merchants, Retailers or Conſumptioners Hands. And to prevent the paſſing forrein Commodities, as if made at Home, for which leſt any of theſe laſt ſhoud paſs, they ſhoud in the Town where they are made, or expos'd to Sale, be firſt mark'd or ſeal'd, in an Office purpoſely erected, without any Delay or Charge to the People.

That, that part of the Act of Navigation be repeal'd, which appoints three fourths of the Mariners to be *Engliſh*: why not *Scots*, *Iriſh* or any of the Kings Subjects, or even *Forreiners*, ſo the Ships do really belong to owners reſident in *England*? We want People, therefore ought to invite more, not reſtrain any. This Act is a Copy of that made by the *Long Parliament* and their General, the *Uſurper*, who being in War with *Scotland* and *Ireland* in rebellion, thought fit to deny them equal privileges in commerce. But this *Loyal Parliament* wil, I hope, con-

conſider, that the three Kingdoms are not to be thus divided in Intereſts, while under one Monarch. That his Naval Power, their joint ſtrength, is increas'd by the growth of ſhipping in any of 'um. If the ſence of this wil not prevail upon them, to allow 'um the ſame freedoms, yet ſure I am, they muſt from thence perceive, *England* wil have a great advantage by ſuffering all the Kings ſubjects of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, to enjoy the benefit of this Act.

That there be two *Free Ports* appointed; one in the *South*, another in the *North*, with convenient rules and limitations That the duty impos'd upon any of our exportations, whether of our own growth or manufacture of forrein materials, be not ſo high as may either wholy reſtrain thoſe abroad from buying, or enable others to furniſh them cheaper.

That education of Children in forrein parts in Colleges or Academies be prohibited, and Proviſion found or made at home for Teaching Languages and the exerciſes of Rideing, Fencing, *&c.*

That

That *Banks* and *Lombards* be ſpeedily Erected; this in a little time woud make a Hundred *pound* to be as uſeful to the *Public*, as two Hundred real Caſh is now. But in order thereunto, let there be a voluntary Regiſtry of Land, *&c.* which in a few years wil raiſe their valu conſiderably. By this way no man indebted or whoſe eſtate is incumbred is obliged to make diſcoveries. Yet if he has but half free, the Regiſtring of that, wil the better enable him to diſcharge the other part. If a *Regiſtry* muſt not be obtain'd, that, at leaſt, the ſelling or morgaging over and over, ſecret conveyances, Deeds of truſt or any other Trics, by which the Lender or Purchaſer is defrauded and abus'd, be made Felony, without benefit of Clergy; and the cheating perſon oblig'd to pay the ſufferer treble Dammage, and as much more to the Public. This, which certainly, all honeſt men judg as reaſonable, as what is practis'd for far ſmaller evils or offences, wil, without any innovation

novation in the Laws, or other alleg'd inconveniences to the People, ſecure us in our Rights, and perhaps anſwer al the ends of a *Regiſtry*; of which, tho very convenient, I am not ſo fond, as to think or believe, it wil ſo ſuddenly, or to that height, as is ſaid, raiſe the Rents and Valu of Lands; To this it can contribute but by accident, as it invites Strangers into the Kingdom (for I have already told you, that the greater or ſmaller number of People is the only tru cauſe of the dearneſs or cheapneſs of Land and of Labor or Trade) yet even this it cannot do, without aboliſhing the Law, diſabling *Aliens* to purchaſe and hold before *Naturalization*, neceſſary without diſpute to be immediatly taken away.

Nor woud it a little contribute to the general good, that all Merchants and Tradeſmen breaking ſhoud be made guilty of Felony, their goods to the Creditors, if they did not plainly make appear, by their true Books, their loſſes and diſcover what ever they have left

left, and without the unjuſt and cunning Artifices of compoſition, give way for an equal Divident among the Creditors. And that the many abuſes of the Kings Bench Priſon be reform'd, which, as now manag'd, is made a Santuary and place of Refuge and Privilege, for all Knaves that deſine their own privat Intereſt, to the ruin of others, whoſe confinement is no narrower than from the *Eaſt* to the *weſt Indies*.

That all Bonds and Bills obligatory, ſtatute Merchants and of the ſtaple, Recognisances, Judgments, *&c.* be enacted transferable and by Indorſement to paſs as current as Bills of Exchange, and made recoverable by a ſhorter courſe of of Law, than now practis'd. That is to ſay, that upon actual proof of the perfecting and laſt aſſigning of the Deed, Judgment and Execution be obtaind. This wou'd wonderfully enliven trade, make a new *ſpecies* of Coyn, lower intereſt, ſecure in a great meaſure dealers from breaking, and find mony to carry

on

on the trades of *Fiſhing*, *Linnen*, *Woollen*, &c.

That til the propos'd regulation of the Laws can be effected, to avoid the trouble and charge of *Juries* in many caſes and other unjuſt vexations, the meets and bounds of the denominations of all Lands, Mannors, Pariſhes, Commons, Hundreds and Countyes, all preſcriptions, uſages and cuſtoms, and the Juriſdictions of all inferiour Courts be fully inquir'd into, and truely regiſtred in one Book or Books; copies to be Printed and the Original to be and remain of Record, as the *Doomsday* book in the *Exchequer*: By which all diſputes concerning the premiſes may be ſpeedily and cheaply decided.

There are but two Objections againſt this public good, and were they unanſwerable, yet ſince they are but particular and ſelfiſh conſiderations, they ought not to take place; The firſt is, That the uſeful and *laudable Calling* of the Lawyers, wil be prejudic'd. The next, that, the many, who now live upon

on Credit, wil be undon. As to the firſt, by this work the preſent Lawyers wil be ſo far from ſuffering, that for ten years to com rather than leſſen, it wil increaſe their buſineſs; which according to the ordinary computation of mens Lives, or their hopes of being promoted, wil be a greater advantage to them, than if things continu'd as they are: and for thoſe, who propoſe to themſelves this way of living, there wil be ſtil grounds enuff for the Practiſe of ſom and many new imployments for others. So that if theſe Gentlemens preſent great Practiſe woud give them leave to look forwards, they woud find *they are more Scar'd than hurt*. As to the ſecond ſort, who likewiſe believe they may be damnifi'd, that fancy wil alſo vaniſh, if it be conſider'd, That it wil enlarge rather than deſtroy Credit. For we wil ſuppoſe, that a young Merchant or Tradeſman, who has 500. *pound* ſtock, does not trade for leſs than 2000. *pound*, the Merchant that ſells him the Commoditys upon the belief of his being

being honeſt, induſtrions, prudent and ſober, gives him Credit, and takes his Bond payable at a certain day; this Perſon, that he may be able duly to diſcharge his obligation, in like manner, truſts another, whom he ſuppoſes able and honeſt; for all receive credit as they really are or appear ſuch; as ſoon as his bond becomes du, he takes up his own, and gives that he receav'd to his creditor, who perhaps gives it to another to whom he is indebted; At laſt the mony is call'd for, from the Country Gentleman; the Country Gentleman gives him an aſſignment on his tenant, who either is or is not indebted; if the tenant owes the Mony, he payes it in *ſpecie*, or aſſignes him upon ſom Merchant, for the valu of commodities ſold him, the *fond* enabling him to pay his Land-lords Rent; and thus perhaps by a Circulation of traffic, for all Men from the higheſt to the loweſt are one way or other Merchants or Traders, the firſt man is pay'd with his own paper: If the tenant does not ow the Land-lord

the

the Mony, and therefore wil not pay; the Land-lord is immediately neceſſitated to ſel or Morgage ſom part of his eſtate; which if he refuſe, the Law forces him, and the Credits of the reſt are ſecur'd. The Conſequences are plainly theſe; That Men muſt be careful, with whom they deal; That they muſt be punctual & thrifty, leſt they firſt loſe their Credit, and afterwards becom Beggars: For, he that rightly conſiders, wil be convinc'd, That every Man in a Society or Common-wealth, even from the King to the Peſant, is a Merchant, and therefore under a neceſſity of taking care of his Reputation, not ſeldom a better Patrimony, than what deſcends to us from our Parent's Care. That by this Practice, the Kingdom wil gain an inexhauſtible Treaſure; and tho there were not a hundredth part of the Mony, be able to drive ten times a greater Trade, than now it does. A Man thus enabl'd, to Live and Trade without Mony, wil be in no need of running-out